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Abbreviations

biog.: biography
b.n.: brief note
men: mentioned
rev.: review

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THE POLITICAL AND POLEMICAL MOTIVES OF JOHANN FABRI'S *MOSCOUITARUM RELIGIO* (1525–26)

BY

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Given the difficulty in determining certain details about religious life in medieval Russia using the available sources, conflicting accounts from foreign descriptions of Moscow need to be carefully scrutinized. A report, which Johann Fabri wrote in 1525 and published the following year, explains at least as much about Fabri's interests—and those of Archduke Ferdinand whom he served—as it does about religion in Muscovy. The strong degree of affinity that Fabri sought to demonstrate between the "religion of the Muscovites" and Catholic faith and practice attests to the political and polemical motivations that arose out of his immediate context.

> *Negant Rutheni sanctum Petrum vere papam, et verum Romanae sedis antistitem et ecclesiae militantis caput unicum fuisse, nec accepisse plenitudinem auctoritatis a Christo, quod et de quolibet Romano pontifice successore eius tenent, et communem eum cum aliis pontificibus esse dicunt . . . Negant Ecclesiam Romanam caput esse Ecclesiarum omnium, principem rectricem et magistram . . .*

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The full title of Fabri's work, published in January 1526, reads: *Ad Serenissimum Principem Ferdinandum Archiducem Austriae, Moscouitarum iuxta mare glaciale religio.*

Dicunt omnes obedientes Romanae ecclesiae veros christianos non esse, neque salvandos, eo quod ab ecclesia primitiva discrepant . . . Immo dominum papam cum ecclesia romana dicunt hereticum esse de heresi ariana et catholicos omnes arianistas vocant et anatematizant ipsum tempore cene domini cum suo Clero. Dicuntque non habere plenam potestatem ligandi et solvendi.

— Jan Laski to Fifth Lateran Council Fathers, April 5, 1514[1]

Pontificem Ro. ut Christi uicarium et successorem Petri agnoscunt … haec religio, illa pietas, Serenissime princeps, quae in uniuersam inclyta tua in rebus diuinis procurandis sedulitas ignorare omnino noluit, ideoque iussu tuo haec certe illorum hominum perquisita sunt…nihil tamen minus quam sacrosanctam illam fidem in Christum . . . pro genuine hactenus pietate sui sint amplexi omnem impietatem et in deos et in parentes maioreque, et in patriam.

— Johann Fabri to Archduke Ferdinand, September 18, 1525[2]

It is remarkable that the above excerpts from two of the earliest Western reports on religion in Muscovy were both produced by high-ranking Roman Catholic clerics within eleven years of each other. The two reports are in no way related to each other except for their obvious contribution to the Catholic Church's knowledge about religion and life in Muscovy. Clearly the authors differ in their aim and audience, due largely to their respective national perspectives and the

[1]The text of Laski's report is printed in Caesar Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Tomus 31, 1513–1526 (Guerin, 1864–83), nn. 68–86. This volume of the *Annales* also contains an abridged version of Fabri's report.

[2]O. F. Kudriavtsev, *Rossiia v Pervoi Polovine XVI v: Vzgliad iz Evropy* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 143–67, here pp. 167–68. I will be using this edition of Fabri's report due to its completeness and will also refer to folio pages of the original. A reprint of the report is found in the microtext collection *Flugschriften der Frühen 16n. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. J. Köhler, H. Hebenstreit, and C. Weisman, Fiche 1196, Flugschrift 3008. The first partial translation of the report is found in William Palmer, *Dissertations on Subjects Relating to the "Orthodox" or "Eastern-Catholic" Communion* (London, 1853). In Palmer's abridged edition the contents differ somewhat from that of Baronius, but both are consistent in generally omitting the political and military information contained therein, especially those references to Tatars and Turks. Baronius's edition excludes important information, but provides a general, albeit brief, context for the report by including an initial editorial remark at the introduction. He explains clearly that the papacy desired information about Muscovy "ut foedere juncti Christiani omnes fidem et religionem contra Mahumeticam tyrannidem tuerentur." See nn. 67–68. An abridged German edition is found in Franz Bernhard von Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten* 1831–1838, repr. (Graz, 1968), 2:468–99; there is also an earlier abridged translation into French, "La Religion des Moscovites en 1525 par Jean Faber," *Bibliothèque Russe Nouvelle Série* (Paris, 1860), 3:1–29.

attenuating political factors that motivated the composition of their reports, as will be demonstrated in the following study. It is in light of a critical contextual analysis of Fabri's report that the contrasting views offered in these two reports can be better understood in relation to the actual subject they are discussing. When contrasted with the perspective found in Laski's report, Fabri clearly demonstrates the underlying political aims of what at first glance may appear to be "interconfessional dialogue" between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church in Muscovy.

In 1514, Jan Laski, a Polish representative at the Fifth Lateran Council, used the basic contents of an already available report on Christianity as practiced by the Ruthenians, the inhabitants of eastern Slavic lands, and added his own introduction to frame the report. Another report on religion of the eastern Slavs appears in 1525 in Tübingen, written by an equally prominent cleric, Dr. Johann Fabri, confessor to Archduke Ferdinand. Fabri's report was based on his interview with two Russian diplomatic emissaries.

Taken at face value, these reports could be used as documentary sources on religion as it was practiced in Muscovy in the early sixteenth century. The problem with using either report is that their data are contradictory at numerous points. The task of this study is not to compare the two reports to discern which facts are correct and which are false;[3] it is concerned primarily with the background and underlying motivations that can explain why Fabri's depiction of religion in Muscovy was so different from that of Laski and others. Further, this contextual understanding of the report should heighten the critical approach that other studies might take when using the information found in such sources, Fabri's report in particular.

[3]For a list of various travel reports to Russia, see Friedrich von Adelung, *Kritische-Literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700* (Amsterdam, 1960); *Reiseberichte von Deutschen über Russland und von Russen über Deutschland,* ed. Friedhelm Berthold Kaiser and Bernhard Stasiewski (Vienna, 1980); Walter Leitsch, *Berichte über den Moskauer Staat in italienischer Sprache aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1993). See the detailed bibliography of scholarship engaging the various reports, especially that of Baron Herberstein, in Frank Kämpfer's *Das Russlandbuch Sigismund von Herberstein Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii, 1549–1999* (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 131–40; Marshall Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy: An Analytic Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources* (Columbus, OH, 1995); Andreas Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des westlichen Russlandbildes* (Bern, 1972), pp. 253–71.

The other remarkable feature of both reports is that they contain key information about the political nature and military capabilities of the eastern Slavs.[4] As will be shown presently, these data qualify the information on religion found in the reports and the data provide a noteworthy insight into why the reports were composed. Most notably, Fabri's report propagates a highly positive view of Muscovites and their religion, while the report by Laski, presented only eleven years earlier, gave a wholly negative impression.

Although Fabri did not agree with Laski on many points concerning the general character of the Muscovite people or their religion, these two men shared some surprising similarities. Despite their different nationalities, their relative position to their respective heads of state was quite similar. They were considered humanists, and they both corresponded with Erasmus, although neither shared his degree of political irenicism, due perhaps to their strong political attachments and personal ambitions for higher ecclesiastical posts. From the letters of Erasmus, it appears that he disliked Fabri's intolerance as seen in the persecution of the Anabaptists (Ep. 1926), although he still commends him highly a few years after the Diet of Speyer (Ep. 2750).[5] Erasmus also showed great respect for Laski,[6] which was unrequited despite Erasmus's several efforts to soften the anti-Habsburg sentiments of the Polish patriot.[7] It is also pertinent to note that both were fierce opponents of the Protestant Reformers.

Also important is the similarity of their relationship, as authors, to their subject matter. Neither had the privilege of being present in Muscovy and could thereby provide a firsthand account, as Baron Sigismund von Herberstein would later accomplish at Archduke Ferdinand's and Emperor Charles's request.[8] Rather, these two authors

[4]For a recent analysis of the available source data, see Donald Ostrowski, "Troop Mobilization by the Muscovite Grand Princes (1313–1533)," in *The Military and Society in Russia: 1450–1917*, ed. Marshall Poe and Eric Lohr (Boston, 2002), pp. 19–40.

[5]Denis R. Janz, "Johann Fabri," in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation,* ed. Peter G. Bietenholz (Toronto, 1985–87), 2:5–8.

[6]Ep.1593, 1805, also in his dedication to Laski of his edition of Ambrose in 1527.

[7]Maria Cytowska, "Jan (I) Laski," in *Contemporaries of Erasmus,* 2:296–97.

[8]Sigismund von Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia*, trans. and introd. R. H. Major, vol. 1 (London, 1851); Herberstein, *Description of Moscow and Muscovy 1557*, trans. J. B. C. Grundy (London, 1969). For critical views of these works, see *Žiga Herberstein 1486–1566: Potomec znamenitega rodu iz slovenske Karantanije, vojščak, državnik, diplomat in mirotvorec: V "Moskovskih zapiskih" odkril Rosijo Evropi*, ed. Just Rugel

obtained information from other sources: Fabri, by interviewing two diplomatic visitors from Muscovy; Laski, by using written information from those who had probably encountered certain eastern Slavic peoples, either through direct contact or other written sources. Since their respective sources provided different information, this reason will serve initially to account for the significant discrepancies between the contents of the two reports, but it should not be considered the sole determinant that would explain the differences. Whereas other studies of Fabri's report have focused primarily on the religious content of his report,[9] the critical edition by Kudriavtsev provides helpful comments concerning the other significant parts of the report.

The geographic situation of Muscovy in relation to Poland and Austria to the west as well as the Tatars and Turks to the south is of key importance for Muscovy's rise to nationhood under Ivan III (r. 1462–1505). Its independence in military and political matters extended to the ecclesial realm when it refused the rapprochement with the West, which many of the Greek Church hierarchs had been supporting. Since the signing of the Union at Florence in 1439, which, despite initial settlements between Rome and the Eastern hierarchs, ultimately failed to unite the Eastern Orthodox communions with Rome, the importance of ecclesial re-union faded somewhat on the papal agenda.[10] When the Florentine Council ended, until the siege in 1453 that won Constantinople to the Turks, the Western powers failed to deliver the military aid sought by their eastern co-religionists, thus dashing the hopes of an enduring ecclesiastical union in Rome's favor.[11] Decades later, when the Turkish advances became a greater threat to Western Europe, the same powers that might have spared Orthodox lands their political capitulation under the Ottomans turned

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(Moscow, 2000); Frank Kämpfer, *Das Russlandbuch Sigismund von Herberstein Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii, 1549–1999* (Hamburg, 1999); I. G. Gross. "The Tangled Tradition: Custine, Herberstein, Karamzin, and the Critique of Russia," *Slavic Review,* 50 (1991), 989–98. The most recent edition, with commentary, is found in V. L. Ianin, *et al.*, Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*: Zapiski o Moskovii* (Moscow, 1988).

[9]The details concerning Muscovite religions are found in A2 through B2, composed of 11 folio sheets; cf. Kudriavtsev, pp. 143–51.

[10]The Byzantine emperor John VIII (1425–48) eagerly sought union between the Roman pontiff and Eastern patriarchate, largely due to political expediency in view of military aid against the advances of the Turks. See Koncevičius, pp. 111, 155–77.

[11]Steven Runciman notes that many of the Greek exiles studying in the West, especially those in Venice, fostered loyalty toward Charles V, whom they saw as the leader who had the potential to relieve their homeland of the Turkish occupation; see *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, UK, 1968), pp. 228–29.

to the aid of Europe's eastern neighbors. The Muscovite Grand Prince, Ivan III, "the Great," already had enjoyed an amicable rapport with Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian in the late fifteenth century.[12] When Charles V succeeded his grandfather to the imperial throne in 1519, securing the Habsburg domination of the greater part of Western European lands, Vasily III had already, in 1505, claimed his father Ivan the Great's title as sole Grand Prince of Muscovy, thus continuing the Rurikid dynasty.[13] The Habsburgs viewed the ongoing battles between the united kingdom of Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy as lost military potential in the larger perspective of the security of Europe. Ferdinand was constantly aware of the imminent probability of further westward advances of the Turkish armies. Based in Vienna, the Eastern Bloc of the Holy Roman Empire would require the support of the Western troops and neighboring states to repel the Ottoman incursions, which had seized Belgrade by 1521, defeated Hungary in 1526, and would lay siege to Vienna in 1529.

In the early 1520s, it was already clear in the West that theological issues arising both in the university scene and among the peasants might perilously influence political powers in Germany in opposition to both the papacy and the Empire. To understand the significance of the potential alliance that Ferdinand sought with Muscovy, it is important to note how Charles and Ferdinand differed in their approaches to religious-political unity. Unfortunately for Ferdinand, Western European interests generally dominated the interests of his brother, more after the spirit of Madrid than of Vienna.[14] The attention of the Spain-based Charles V became drawn almost entirely to

[12]Already in 1485 the Habsburgs sought an alliance with Muscovy partly as a means to obstruct the Polish-Lithuanian goals of regional domination. Negotiations resulted in a treaty in March 1491 between the Holy Roman Empire and the Muscovite princes. Although the aims of both the Habsburgs and Muscovites directly concerned Poland-Lithuania, Emperor Maximilian sought support in the following year for an alliance of Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Lithuania, and Muscovy against the Ottoman Turks. See the appendix by Berthold Picard in his edition of Herberstein's report that details the diplomatic background of various intra-European political developments in *Description of Moscow and Muscovy 1557*, trans. J. B. C. Grundy (London, 1969).

[13]Technically, Vasily III had shared the role of grand prince with Ivan III since 1502, replacing his half-brother, Dmitrii; after his father's death in 1505, he became the sole grand prince. On the rather tumultuous events and circumstances at the turn of the century, which led to the continuation of the Rurikhid dynasty, see John L. I. Fennell, *Ivan the Great of Moscow* (London, 1963); Aleksandr A. Zimin, *Rossiia na poroge novogo vremeni: Ocherki politicheskoi istorii Rossii pervoi treti XVI v.* (Moscow, 1972).

[14]Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526–1918* (London, 1974), p. 34.

Western Europe and its ecclesiastical upheavals and attenuating social-political revolutions. Although Charles and Ferdinand were consistent in their allegiance to the Catholic faith, their deferral to papal authority wavered; in matters of toleration toward antipapal dissenters, Charles was more prepared to suppress with fire and sword, while Ferdinand in the East sought to discover compromises between Christian groups of different stripes to allow for political expediency and to maintain loyalty to the imperial order.[15] Clearly Ferdinand was less concerned with religious dissent within Christendom than the approaching threat of the Ottomans, and here we must recognize what appear to be the political motives behind Ferdinand's relative toleration of the ritual nonconformity of this Christian group at such a time when Reformation-era disputes heightened the need for conformity in the Empire.

In 1517, an envoy from Maximilian had successfully negotiated a peace treaty between Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania. Baron Herberstein's first diplomatic mission to Muscovy in 1517 already anticipated the use of religious unity for the purpose of political peace between nations, thus creating a more secure, centralized, and hegemonic power in Europe. In his speech to the Muscovites, who were still at war with Poland-Lithuania to the northwest, Herberstein clearly displayed the Empire's attempt to create religious unity for political and military purposes.[16]

The explanation that Fabri sought to create a desirable image of the Muscovites is further corroborated by the report's effect on

[15]As Kann describes, "where Charles obviously subordinated his political strategy largely to his religious convictions, Ferdinand followed on the whole an opposite course. Not less devout but less intolerant a Catholic than his older brother, he was ready to compromise with the Protestants even on such dogmatic questions as celibacy for priests or the cup for the laity. Ferdinand's resistance to the foremost threat against his rule, the Ottoman Turks, was to a greater extent based on needs for domestic tranquility than Charles' in his fight across western Europe." *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[16]Herberstein is recorded as saying, "The whole universe knows that for many years Christian rulers have quarrelled bitterly among themselves, displayed rancour, and shed much Christian blood. Their actions have not benefited the cause of Christianity. . . . Emperor Maximilian has . . . fought many wars not from ambition, but to bring the whole world to Christ. God has blessed his efforts. The pope and all Italy are presently on friendly terms with him. . . . Wherever one looks in the world today, east and west, or north and south, one sees that all the Christian rulers are related to his Imperial majesty, on terms of fraternity, or at peace with him. . . . peace best serves the interests of the Almighty Creator, His Immaculate Mother, and all Christians." S. M. Soloviev, *History of Russia*, 9:65–66.

Ferdinand's ability to arouse Charles's interests in Muscovy. In the correspondence between Charles and Ferdinand during the early 1520s we also find that Ferdinand was extremely eager to convince his brother to pay greater attention to the Ottoman military threat and to seek support from potential allies in Central and Eastern Europe. It had become increasingly vital to the Habsburgs' long-range political security to forge a peace treaty between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy.[17] However, the report that Laski, the primate of Poland as well as a canon lawyer, had presented to the Fifth Lateran Council in 1514 entirely denigrated the Ruthenian people and their religion, and sought to provide a basis for Poland's increasing latinization and political expansion further east.[18] This report begins with a description of military forces lying in the East that are obviously inflated.[19] Decades later, the self-proclaimed hegemony of Muscovy's ecclesiastical position as the "Third Rome" would eventually become a "means to buttress the position of the Moscow Patriarchate within the Eastern Orthodox world."[20]

[17]Sigismund I, the King of Poland (r. 1506–48), and the Grand Prince of Muscovy, Vasily III (r. 1505–33).

[18]Maria Cytowska, "Jan (I) Laski," in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, 2:296–97. See also Petro B.T. Bilaniuk, *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517) and the Eastern Churches* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 134–47. The report, *Ruthenorum nations cum erroribus eorundem in Concilio Lateranensi per Reverendum in Christo patrem dominum Joannem de Lasco*, borrows much from a report by Johannes Sacranus (Jan z Oświęcima) published in 1500, titled *Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici*.

[19]Fol. 54; See Bilaniuk, p. 90. Bilaniuk considers these to be "pure fiction." See also *ibid*., p. 141, n. 37.

[20]Daniel B. Rowland, "Moscow—The Third Rome of the New Israel?" *The Russian Review,* 55 (October, 1996), 595. As a recent revisionist put it, "one finds no basis to draw the conclusion that whoever wrote [the letters in which Moscow was first declared the Third Rome, traditionally attributed to a monk Filofei of Pskov] was formulating an imperial ideology for the Muscovite ruler or for expansion of the Muscovite state. Instead, one finds a very different intent, that is, a delineation of the power and authority of the ruler and reminders to the ruler to perform his duty specifically in regard to the Church." Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-Cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589* (New York, 1998), p. 225. For an overview of how the idea of "Third Rome" initially arose and then developed until the last decades of historiography, "doubtless one of the most familiar and misunderstood episodes in all of Russian history" (413), see Marshall Poe, "Moscow, the Third Rome: The Origins and Transformations of a 'Pivotal Moment,'" *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas,* 49 (2001), 412–29, here p. 413. Nicolas Zernov was not entirely mistaken in *Moscow, the Third Rome*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1944), in which he dealt with the notion of Russia's self-perceived destiny as the headship of the true Church, which, having passed from Rome to Constantinople under Emperor Constantine I, was passed on to Moscow after the fall of Constantinople. Zernov does link the Third Rome notion with the ecclesiastical sense that the Moscovy was the sole remaining Orthodox nation in Europe that enjoyed Christian rule.

Beginning in 1522, Ferdinand's letters to Charles provide constant updates on the Turkish military advances and include several pleas for assistance on the Eastern Front. The combined religious and political motives are clear from the start.[21] In the same month Ferdinand writes encouraging Charles to achieve a peace or truce with France so that Emperor Charles, as the "chief of our holy Christian religion, with the other Christian princes could turn your powers toward the Turks, the enemies of our faith."[22] Ferdinand's letter from Vienna of October 14, 1524, pleads with Charles to treat the Muscovites well, with honor, and to send advance greeters to receive them in the manner of the Muscovite custom.[23] Shortly after, Ferdinand warns Charles of the Polish-French alliance negotiations, thus necessitating more urgent diplomacy with Poland, precipitating the need to send another diplomatic mission[24] to end the Polish-Muscovite battles and gain the military and political support of the Muscovite Grand Prince.[25] Ferdinand was certainly aware of the religious divide between the Roman West and the Muscovites.[26] An appeal for religious unity would thus greatly

[21]Ferdinand wrote, "aultrement il est à craindre, que ce soit faict de tous noz pays d'Austrice, dont il doit avoir regret non seullement pour la perte, que nous et toute la chrestienté y aurons, mais pour ce que c'est la maison, dont il est parti et porte son nom et ses armes." *Veröffentilichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs: Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I. Familienkorrespondenz bis 1526,* ed. Wilhelm Bauer (Liechtenstein, 1970), p. 26.

[22]The text reads, "monsr comme chief de nostre saincte religion christienne avec les altres princes christiens puisse[z] convertir voz puissances à l'encontre du Turcq ennemi de nostre foi." *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

[23]The diplomatic envoys were Prince Ivan Zasekin Yaroslavskii ( ), clerk Simeon Borisovich Trofimov ( ), and interpreter Vlas Ignat'ev ( ).

[24]Charles would again send Baron Herberstein, who would use many of his observations to write his famous work *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*. V. A. Janin hails Herberstein's work as a masterpiece of literature of the age of humanism, conscientious and tolerant, and a forerunner of the idea of a united Europe, in "Zapiski Herbersteina in prihodnost Rusije in Evrope" (also parallel Russian translation) in *Žiga Herberstein—Vojščak, Državnik, Diplomat in Mirotvorec*, ed. Just Rugel (Moscow, 2000), pp. 9–10. Frank Kämpfer calls Herberstein "eine erstrangige Quelle für die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung" in his article "Siegmund von Herbersteins 'Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii' als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle" in *Siegmund von Herberstein*, ed. Gerhard Pferschy (Graz, 1989), p. 160.

[25]Letter to Charles dated November 1, 1524. Bauer, pp. 230–32.

[26]Charles wrote to Ferdinand in mid-December assuring him that he had received the diplomats from Muscovy and that they were being treated honorably. See *ibid.*, p. 246–47. In a long letter dated June 25, 1525, Charles mentions to Ferdinand that he has sent the diplomats back to Muscovy, adding that Leonard Nogaroli, who was the count of Padua, and Baron Sigismund von Herberstein would accompany them on their return

serve to strengthen the Habsburg-Muscovite alliance at this juncture. Here is where Fabri's report sought to influence his readership by depicting Muscovy as a viable, reliable, and loyal ally of the Church and Empire. The report seems to have had the effect of prompting an imperial envoy to Muscovy to once again encourage a treaty with Poland and enlist its support against the Turks.

Various biographic accounts of Johann Fabri (1478–1541)[27] provide a fairly clear picture of his life of devotion to the Catholic Church.[28] He is known for two main reasons, namely his relationship and devoted service to Ferdinand of Austria, and his attacks on various Reformers, especially Luther, that quickly earned him the title "Malleus in Haeresim Lutheranum." Born in Leutkirch, Schwabia, he studied theology and law at the University of Tübingen and later at Freiburg, earning a doctorate in canon and civil law by 1510.[29] He was also ordained as a parish priest and rose to the position of vicar-general of Constance by 1518.[30] Fabri was appointed adviser to Archduke Ferdinand starting in 1521, confessor in 1524, and later bishop of Vienna in 1530.

Initially sympathetic to Luther's reforming agenda, Fabri turned sharply critical of his antipapalism and rejection of canon law in 1519 at the Leipzig disputation.[31] When we see how Luther had appealed to

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and that they should first visit Ferdinand to receive fuller instructions; *ibid.*, pp. 305–11. By December 4 of the same year, Ferdinand confirms to Charles that he gave them instruction and hurried them off to Muscovy; *ibid.*, pp. 351. The exact written instructions from Ferdinand to Herberstein have not been retained in any records. See also *ibid.*, p. 358, and Hans Uebersberger, *Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1906), pp. 190–93. Charles responds in mid-January affirming the instruction that Ferdinand gave to Herberstein, namely to effect a peace treaty between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy and create a common pan-European alliance against the Ottomans.

[27]Also written as Johannes Faber, or in German, Johann Heigerlin.

[28]The most comprehensive account of Fabri's early career (1518–22) can be read in the biography by P. R. Staub, O.S.B., *Dr. Johann Fabri, Generalvikar von Konstanz* (Einsiedeln, 1911). See also L. Helbing, *Dr Johann Fabri: Generalvikar von Konstanz und Bischof von Wien, 1478–1541* (Münster, 1941) and Christoph Dittrich, *Die vortridentinische katholische Kontroverstheologie und die Täufer* (New York, 1991), esp. pp. 208–20.

[29]Fabri also studied classical languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, specializing in Hebrew exegesis. See the biographical article in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* (New York, 1987), 10: 784–88.

[30]Although some biographic sources repeat that he was a Dominican, there was another Dominican, named Johann Fabri, who lived in Augsburg (1475–1530).

[31]Fabri became known as "Hammer of the Heretics" due to his vehement attacks against Luther and other Reformers. See a collection of his writings against Luther in *Malleus in haeresim Lutheranam* (1524), ed. Anton Naegele, [Corpus Catholicorum. 23/24–25/26], (Münster in Westfalen, 1941–52).

the so-called *orientis ecclesias* in these disputations to back up his antipapalism, we need not look far for the reason why Fabri sought to counter such claims and demonstrate the affinity of Muscovite Christianity to that of the Catholic Church.

In the early disputations between the Reformers and the Catholic defenders, information concerning the "Greek Church" was used as cannon fodder to disable the arguments of either side. Luther's use of the term *Greek Church* in his early polemics was an especially effective tactic because in so buttressing his arguments, he could deny the ubiquity and universality of Roman jurisdiction and authority. Thus, Luther was able to show that various groups of Christians were in fact not subject to the pope, yet the Roman Church still recognized them as legitimate Christians.[32] However, such a disposition toward the "Greek Church"[33] would not appear in Luther's later writings or motivate him to seek support for his theological position from these "non-Roman: ecclesiastical bodies."[34]

Concerning utraquism, Luther defended the doctrine of the Bohemians, noting further that "Greeks"—i.e., non-Latin Christians, who were neither heretics nor schismatics—also received the Lord's Supper in both kinds.[35] Luther argued similarly concerning the doctrine of purgatory: that even though he held it to be true, the Greeks did not, and therefore such doctrines may not be enforced for the

[32]Starting in 1518 and ending in 1523, there are various references in Luther's writings to the "Greek Church." In the "Letter from Luther to Spalatin Concerning the Leipzig Debate" (1519), Luther reports that during the disputation he used the argument that Greek Christians were not under the authority of the Roman pontiff; therefore, submission to the pope was not necessary for all Christians. *Luther's Works* (hereafter *LW*) (Philadelphia, 1960), 31:322.

[33]By the term *Greek Church*, it appears that Luther was referring to all Christians who were never historically subject to the bishop of Rome but were under other patriarchal sees. Sometimes he used the term *Oriental* for the same.

[34]Luther's early statements certainly provided the justification if not the impetus for Melanchthon (beginning in 1559) and others following him (1573 to 1581), who sought to achieve recognition of the Augsburg Confession from the patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremias II. See Ernst Benz, *Wittenberg und Byzanz—Zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche* (Munich, 1971).

[35]After Leo X issued the bull *Exsurge Domine* in 1520, condemning forty-one of Luther's theses, Luther took up the pen, producing his "Defense and Explanation of All the Articles" (1521), *LW*, 32: 5–99. He complains that one cannot equate being a Christian with being bound to the pope and Rome, since there is a long legitimate tradition of Christians in the Orient and Africa, equating their autonomy with that of the Greeks and the Bohemians. *Ibid.*, pp. 68–69.

whole Church, even in the Roman Church.[36] In his early commentaries on the Psalms, Luther stated that he did not condemn the hegemony of the Roman Church, only its extortion of hegemony by "force and fury."[37]

Also in the "Babylonian Captivity of the Church" (1520) and "The Misuse of the Mass" (1521), Luther argued again in the name of the Bohemians and Greeks, who "take their stand on the Gospels"[38] without inventions or additions.[39] Also in 1521, Luther wrote about "me and my Greeks" in his "Answer to the Hyper-Christian Book,"[40] noting that Roman canon law need not be followed by all Christians, just as the "Orientals and Greeks" did not follow it, "even though it annoys Esmer and the pope's sects."[41] After this early period of public debate, there is scarcely a reference in Luther's writings to the Greek or Oriental Church as such.

In the early 1520s, Fabri responded to Luther's writings with several refutations of such an appeal to the "Greeks" and in particular the appeal to the Bohemians who, Fabri notes, were condemned by a council, not the pope.[42] Fabri's statement concerning the variations in Muscovites' and Greeks' belief in purgatory clearly contradicts Luther's earlier statement about what the "Greek Church" believed. Fabri wrote, "But though there are among the Greeks very many who deny Purgatory, and others who attempt to prove Purgatory from the Scriptures, they say that they would not easily endure that there should be a division on this account, but could come to hold firmly the same doctrine with the Roman Church."[43]

[36]*Ibid*., pp. 95–96.

[37]Luther writes: "Arrogantiam damno, rem [the papacy] commendo: Aurum non est malum, sed avaricia, Caro non est mala, sed libido carnis, quanquam etiam his satis resistit vigilanter Christus, quod nunquam *orientis Ecclesias* huic subiici passus est." *Weimarer Ausgabe*, 5:57; *cf*. p. 62. Emphasis added.

[38]*LW*, 36:25.

[39]*Ibid*., p. 167.

[40]*LW*, 39:150.

[41]*Ibid*., p. 171.

[42]Fabri, *Malleus*, 2:Tract. V, text. 19, pp. 84–85. Other references to the eastern Churches are found on pp. 63, 79–83, 239, 242.

[43]Palmer, p. 44. "Quanquam uero sint apud Graecos plerique qui purgatorium negent, et alij qui purgatorium scriptures probare contentur. In hoc tamen se non facile scissuram pati affirmant, quin idipsum firmiter cum Romana ecclesia teneant." Kudriavtsev, p. 166. See also the report by Paulus Iovius with a similar attestation in 1525 concerning purgatory, reproduced in Kudriavtsev, p. 247.

Fabri's meeting with the Muscovite diplomats in 1525 provided a convenient source to exploit in his ongoing refutations against Luther. After the peasant uprisings of 1524–26, Fabri further hardened his position on theological and anticlerical dissent, especially pertaining to the Anabaptists against whom he preached fiery sermons at the 1529 Diet of Speyer.[44] Ferdinand's preoccupation with internal dissent especially within German territories he administered and external threats from the Ottoman Turks became thoroughly religious concerns for Fabri, who sought both to consolidate the Catholic faith within Habsburg lands and to unify the military resources of Europe against the approaching Turks. The threat from the Turks was seen to be religious as much as political. In the late 1520s and through the 1530s, Fabri became more actively engaged in the defense of the eastern border of the Empire, and some of the sermons he preached give evidence that his efforts were primarily devoted to unifying Europe in a military effort.[45] Diplomatic missions on Ferdinand's behalf soon brought him to England and Spain (1527–28), and his legacy may be properly understood as one of seeking a unified faith and political allegiance throughout the whole of the Holy Roman Empire and its neighboring co-religionists.

* * *

In the late summer of 1525, two diplomats from Muscovy were traveling with a translator through Tübingen on their way to pay homage to Emperor Charles V.[46] Fabri interviewed the diplomats and wrote a report addressed to Ferdinand and Charles, detailing the information he had gathered about Russian politics, society, and religion. The report, which bore the short title *Moscouitarum Religio*, was in Latin and printed on thirty-five quarto pages at Basel in January 1526.

[44]See *Etlich Sermon von den acht Seligkeiten: geprediget in der hohen Stifft zü Speyr auf dem Reichstag / durch Doctor Johann Fabri. Wien in Österreich* (Vienna, 1528).

[45]Fabri's sermons against the Turks were as follows: *Oratio de Origine, Potentia ac Tyrannide Turcorum ad Henricum Angliae Regem* (Vienna, 1528); *Sermones consolatorii reverendiss. In Christo Patris, ac Domini, Domini Ioannis Fabri Epi. Vienen. Habiti ad plebem eius, ac Christi milites, sper immanissimi Turcorum Tyranni altera imminenti obsidione Inclytae urbis Viennensis* (1532); *Sermo Ioannis Fabri Episcopi Vienen. profoelici victoria aduersus infideleis, habitus in sancta ecclesia Metropolitana Pragen* (1537), see Carl Göllner, *TVRCICA, Die europäischen Türkendrücke des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1961), 1:158–59, 219, 285–86.

[46]The Muscovite diplomats arrived in Tübingen in August or early September of 1525. See fn. 6 of the Russian translation of Fabri's report in Kudriavtsev, p. 205.

It is uncertain how much Fabri knew about Muscovy prior to his interview with the diplomats; however, he does refer in his other writings to some of the practices in Muscovy, such as the marriage of priests.[47] Upon receiving the Muscovites, Ferdinand and Fabri saw the potential for Muscovy to join the war effort against the Turks. Ferdinand highly commended them to his brother the emperor and, with the help of Fabri, sought to achieve a religious union between those of the "Ruthenian rite"[48] and Western Christians that would enable political stability between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy so that a pan-European military effort could assail the Turks.

Fabri's report is motivated throughout to achieve a sympathetic regard in the West for the Muscovites people, seeking to convince his readership that Muscovites can be trusted, in fact more so than the masses of dissenters within the borders of both the Empire and Church, especially those in German lands. Although he does point out several minor doctrinal differences between the Catholic Church and the Muscovites, overall he highly commends their piety and diligence in the faith. Fabri forcefully and repeatedly emphasizes the degree to which Muscovites are stricter and more observant and obedient than Christians in German lands. Some key issues he compares include the competence of those who hold ecclesiastical office, monastic vows and abstention from meat, the illegality and rarity of concubinage, the unbending regulations of remarriage (impermissible for clergy), their abhorrence of adultery, the priests' sexual abstention the night preceding and following the performance of the sacred offices, their diligent practice of confession and penance, frequency of prayer and fasting, reverence for sacred images and absence of their abuse as idols, their scrupulous use of indulgences, and so forth. At some points it would appear that Fabri misunderstood his interlocutors, or he decided to hide the differences, such as in his description of confirmation.[49]

Fabri depicts the faith and practice of the Muscovites as a Catholic counter-reformer's dream come true; the Muscovites serve as the ideal example that he wishes for all Catholics, but especially for Germans who by 1525 have been swept into the trends of the Reformation. The backdrop of Müntzerite uprisings enacted in the name of Luther's

[47]Johann Fabri, *Malleus in Haeresim Lutheranum*, 1:Tract. IV, text 18, p. 281.

[48]This term does not refer to so-called "Eastern Catholics" as they are known today, but rather to the official Christianity of medieval Russia.

[49]See footnote in Palmer, p. 33, where he notes that if the Muscovites reported this to Fabri, they likely did not understood the technical meaning of *confirmatio*.

gospel of Christian freedom served to heighten this counter-reformer's fear of any dissidents against the Catholic Church and the political rule of the Habsburgs.

Fabri was certainly aware that his report would not be taken in earnest if he totally ignored what distinguishes Muscovite Christianity, so he included a few topics that demonstrate differences between Muscovite Christian belief and practice, which he presents more as curiosities than as barriers to political unity. Fabri also presents the Muscovite subjects in a wholly favorable light. The Muscovite diplomats, for their part, seem to have been very willing sources of the information that Fabri sought. He made the following statement to assure his reader of the favorable disposition of the diplomats toward the Catholic Church: "Our Masses they attend most willingly; and say that nothing gives them more pain than to find themselves shunned by some as if they were aliens from the faith, whereas they observe zealously nearly all our religious customs."[50] Fabri noted that the Muscovites' order of service differs from the Latin rite and mentioned that they do not include the use of salt in the baptism ritual or the use of mud.[51] Fabri also noted that they do not use organs during the liturgy and a few other minor variances in ritual practice. He also qualified the major differences, stating, "They differ from us in their manner of Consecrating the Sacrament a little, and in their manner of Breaking the Bread. They maintain with the Greeks that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, and not also from the Son." [52]

Probably the most contentious issue that Fabri treated was the Muscovites' view of papal primacy. Near the start of the section on religious practice, Fabri wrote about the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Muscovy and noted that all the bishops within his jurisdiction acknowledged the patriarch of Constantinople as the archbishop's superior. For the Muscovites, "before [the patriarch] again the Roman Pontiff, as successor of Peter, has ever and of right held precedence," adding that even the "Emperor of the Russians . . . is still very attentive in keeping up the same pious respect."[53] Fabri seemed convinced that their allegiance to

[50]Palmer, p. 44.

[51]"Sal vero quod a nostris adhibetur, et lutum ex saliva et puluere, non admodum receptum est Moscouitis."

[52]Palmer, p. 44. "Dissentiunt a nobis in sacramenti consecratione aliquantulum, ac fractione panis. Spiritum sanctum a solo patre, nec a filio procedere perinde atque Graeci tuertur." Kudriavtsev, p. 166.

[53]*Ibid.*, p. 152.

the Greek patriarch should not preclude their acceptance of the bishop of Rome's Petrine succession.[54] Near the end of the report, Fabri repeated this basic assertion, stating, "they acknowledge the Roman Pontiff as the vicar of Christ and the successor of Peter."[55] It is somewhat doubtful that the Muscovites actually stated anything to this effect. Fabri's aim, of course, was to prove that they were not "schismatic" in the basic sense of refusing unity with the Catholic Church or denying the Roman papacy's claim as the authoritative heir to the keys of St. Peter.

Fabri, however, acknowledged the historical breadth of the issue of disunity between the "Greek" Christians and the Catholic Church, noting that several attempts had been made to persuade them to return to the Catholic Church, but that certain causes prevented success. He indicated that the causes of the disunity were politically motivated.[56] Eventually Fabri did mention certain key "nonapprovable" errors near the end of his glowing report: "Only one thing there is which we certainly cannot approve, and which is most contrary to our customs, namely, that they give the Sacrament of the Eucharist to children even under the age of three years; and that they Consecrate in leavened bread; and administer from a spoon the bread mashed in the wine as the Body and Blood of Christ to the laity."[57] Here his tone seems somewhat more antithetical compared to the rest of the report. That Fabri should severely regard the Muscovite practice that permits children under the age of three to receive the Eucharist is surprising when compared with the various other issues that a canon lawyer would find worthy of condemnation. Perhaps his strongly stated disapproval was meant facetiously to point out the puerile nature of squabbling over minute ritual differences such that ritual differences might obstruct political unity in an hour when a military coalition is desperately needed. But this seems almost irreconcilable with what we know about Fabri as the "Hammer of the Heretics."[58] This tension in

[54]*Ibid*., p. 152.

[55]"Pontificem Ro. ut Christi uicarum et successorem Petri agnoscunt." *Ibid*., p. 166.

[56]Fabri writes concerning the problem of disunity, "quae tamen fuerint quae infelicius homini frustrata sint, forte plus profuerit obticere quam commendorando … uel odium quorundam in me contrahere." Fol. D4; Kudriavtsev, p. 166.

[57]Palmer, p. 45. The original reads, "Vnicum est quod a nobis sane probari non potest, et a nostris institutes alienissmum, quod pueres uix dum tres annos natis eucharistiae sacramentum praebunt, quodque in pane fermentato conficiunt, et ex cocleari panem uino intritum pro corpore et sanguine populo ministrant." Fol. D5, no. 33; Kudriavtsev, p. 167.

[58]Throughout the 1520s, Johann Fabri staunchly opposed various other reformers including Zwingli, Hubmaier, Tauber, Schwenckfeld, *et al.*, with tractates countering their teachings.

Fabri's depiction may point to the very reason why he was so eager to find commonality with Muscovites. He would be more eager to enforce ritual conformity within the Empire than beyond; dissent within the Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire spelled internal chaos and needed to be squelched. Those external to his political-ecclesiastical realm could be affirmed and tolerated in their religious or doctrinal difference so long as they sought to build political ties that held promises of military support. On the other hand, his heightened sensitivity may have been due to the Eucharistic controversies already begun in the 1520s.

During the Eucharistic controversies between the Reformers and the defenders of the traditional definitions, Fabri may have sought to demonstrate that those of the Ruthenian rite had even more in common with the Catholic Church than with the unruly Reformers and sacramentarians in Western Europe. The other two doctrinal issues he highlighted as significant—the Eastern Church's insistence on leavened bread[59] and utraquism—confirmed the eastern position on the Eucharist, most certainly held universally throughout the Ruthenian rite. Here Fabri dealt in earnest with the obvious doctrinal issues that divided the West from the East. He did note other differences, but in general, he found ways to portray the matters in a rather positive light, showing only slightly more than curious fascination toward the apparent, minor differences that lay between the Ruthenian rite and the Catholic Church.

As a key indication of the main purpose for which he wrote the report, Fabri also included political-military information at the beginning to highlight the potential and desirable military alliance being proposed with Muscovy and the Empire. He emphasizes the unconditional servitude of the Muscovite people toward the princes and the loyalty of the princes to the Grand Prince. They are battle-ready with 30,000 available cavalry; the Tatars and Turks are their enemies as well. Fabri exalted the loyalty and servitude of the entire Muscovite people extending throughout the political and ecclesiastical realms. Such information would be exactly what Ferdinand wanted to hear and would make a very good case in his appeal to his brother Charles the emperor for greater support in fortifying the Eastern Front. As hind-

[59]However, according to J. B. Koncevičius, *Russia's Attitude towards Union with Rome: 9th–16th Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1927), p. 114, the 1439 agreement between Rome and the Eastern delegates, as pronounced by Pope Eugene in the bull *Laetantur Coeli*, explained that the use of leavened or unleavened bread is allowed.

sight makes clear, the Muscovite princes, under the direction of Vasily III, were far more disposed to amicable commercial and diplomatic relations with the Turkish Sultan than Fabri would have wished.[60]

Such an analysis of the political motivations that influenced Fabri's report on religion in Muscovy provides insight into the conditions he faced when he wrote the report. In the mid-1520s, during an era when Western Europe was becoming increasingly conscious of the importance of both their potential friends and foes to the east, there was a marked effort to better understand the customs, mores, politics, religions, and especially the military potential of these peoples. In the background of his polemics against Luther and others, the data he received concerning religion in Muscovy proved to be useful as a model for what he wished for Christians in German lands to emulate. The image of pious and politically obedient Muscovite Christians certainly contrasted with the dissenting masses in parts of Germany. The report thus demonstrates the clearest sense in which the Muscovites and neighboring peoples were held up as potential allies of the Holy Roman Empire and distant ecclesiastical cousins of the Catholic Church. Fabri's appeal to Archduke Ferdinand and, by proxy, to Emperor Charles may seem to be a distant voice from troubled times when Turkish invasions were a real and present threat to the Holy Roman Empire.

[60]There is much evidence of strong trading relations with various Ruthenian cities and their Turkish and Tatar neighbors throughout the late medieval period. See S. M. Soloviev, *History of Russia*, trans. George S. Pahomov (Gulf Breeze, FL, 2001), 6:115–16. Soloviev includes correspondence sent from Ivan III, 1492, in which he pleads with the sultan, Bayazet, to provide greater protection for the Muscovite traders who enter Turkish lands; see Soloviev 7:105–08. He also suggested that Turkey and Muscovy exchange diplomatic envoys, as had been promised by the previous sultan. For more recent studies of commercial relations of this period of Muscovite history, see A. M. Kolyzin, *Torgovlia drevnei Moskvy: XII—seredina XV v.* (Moscow, 2001); Il'ia Zaitsev, *Mezhdu Moskvoi i Stambulom: Dzhuchidskie gosudarstva, Moskva i Osmanskaia imperiia: nachalo XV—pervaia polovina XVI vv.* (Moscow, 2004).

THE PARISH COMMUNITY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MALTA

BY

FRANS CIAPPARA*

Making use of a wealth of primary sources, the author provides numerous insights into the role of the Maltese community in the life of the eighteenth-century Church across the liturgical year, exploring social, cultural, and gender differences that separated the different sectors of society in the residents' religious behavior. The author emphasizes the democratic responsibility of the wardens in administering the parish, the participation and patronage of lay parishioners, and the all-important cult of Mary and the saints. As the parish church was considered the centerpiece of the community, residents contributed materially to its erection, embellishment, and upkeep.

Historians working in Great Britain and North America have offered detailed insights into English parish life. The faithful, we have been told, considered the parish church as their own to the point that they paid the incumbent for his liturgical services with their personal funds.[1] However, the history of the parish is a subject that has attracted interest across Europe. Marc R. Forster demonstrated this openness of parochial organization to the ordinary people in Southwest Germany.[2]

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[1]See the following two fine collections of studies: S. J. Wright, ed., *Parish, Church, and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350–1750* (London, 1988) and Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kümin, eds., *The Parish in English Life, 1400–1600 (*Manchester, UK, 1997). See also Beat Kümin, *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400–1560* (Aldershot, UK, 1996) and Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish*: *Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001).

[2]Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (Cambridge, UK, 2001). See also the same author's *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (London, 1992), pp. 20–21.

Henry Kamen confirmed such popular control of the local church in Catalonia,[3] while among French historians, Alain Lottin has shown that at Lille, the parish offered the people a platform for the exercise of an unusual degree of responsibility and political power.[4] This essay analyzes the Maltese experience in the eighteenth century, using the fine run of 117 volumes of churchwardens' reports (*conti*) at the bishop's archives.

1.

When the Knights Hospitallers came to Malta in 1530, they took firm control of the governing of the islands. The *consiglio popolare*, or the local self-government, remained in existence only in name.[5] A handful of inhabitants did succeed in reaching positions of authority within the government—the judiciary was recruited invariably from Maltese lawyers, for example[6]—but the majority of the people had no place in it.

Yet, if the central government seemed remote and unapproachable, the Maltese parish was central to the lives of the people and emphatically belonged to them. However, the parish was not a socially homogeneous entity. On the contrary, it was a heavily stratified society, as was evidenced by the precedence taken by procedures of processions and the disputes that arose on such public occasions.[7] As an attentive author has put it, there always lurked "the destabilizing fault lines of continuous social tensions."[8] The community consisted of men and

[3]Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame. Catalonia and the Counter Reformation* (New Haven, 1993), p. 158.

[4]Alain Lottin, *Lille: Citadelle de la Contre-Réforme? 1598–1668* (Dunkirk, 1984), pp. 59–73. For churchwardens in France, see Philippe Goujard, "Les Fonds de Fabriques Paroissiales: Une Source d'Histoire Religieuse Méconnue," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, 73 (1982), 99–110.

[5]Charles Dalli, "Medieval Communal Organisation in an Insular Context: Approaching the Maltese *Universitas,*" in *The Making and Unmaking of the Maltese Universitas*, ed. J. Manduca (Malta, 1993), pp. 1–12.

[6]John Montalto, *The Nobles of Malta* (Malta, 1979), pp. 101–31.

[7]For the order in which parishes were to proceed on the feast of St. Gregory, see Archiepiscopal Archives, Malta (AAM), Edicta Labini, 12 (1780–1807), fols. 55v–56r. For England, see Mervyn James, "Ritual, Drama and the Social Body," *Past and Present,* 98 (1983), 5. For the arrangement of mourners in funeral processions, see Sharon T. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (London, 1992), pp. 7–17.

[8]Edward Muir, "The 2001 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture: The Idea of Community in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 55, no. 1 (Spring, 2002), 3–6. The author thanks Beat Kümin for suggesting this reference

women from every social class, and these social and sexual distinctions were reflected in the parish church itself. The parishioners, as recorded in Thomas More's *Utopia*,[9] were seated in different places: the nave was reserved for the women while the men sat in the transepts.[10] The sexes were differentiated not only in their seating[11] but also at their deaths. At Città Pinto, three peals (*mote*) were sounded for men but only two for women.[12] Since death was an occasion for stressing one's status in the community, at Zabbar, the major bell "distinguished a person of the first order from another of an inferior condition."[13] If most of the people were buried in common graves, the privileged few had their own burial sites if not their chapels.[14]

The church fostered social distinctions in other ways and mirrored the formal social structure of the community. Attendance at church was a social occasion, so that those who did not have the "proper apparel"[15] heard the "morrow Mass" purposely said at dawn for their convenience.[16] Others, like Veronica *ta' l-Ghawdxija* (the Gozitan woman's daughter), went to a filial instead of the parochial church for want of decent clothing.[17] Preaching also was tinged with status consciousness. The elite heard sermons in Italian in the mornings, but the rest of the population were catechized in Maltese in the afternoons.[18] Confraternities further serve to underline a graded society. With their nominal entrance fees, they were open to all but in exceptional cases, they were restricted as much by barriers of status as by differences in occupation.[19] The confraternity of St.

[9]"As they enter the church the men turn to the right and the women to the left," Thomas More, *Utopia* (London, 1987), p. 126.

[10]Archives of the Inquisition, Malta (AIM), Atti Civili (AC) 510, fols. 150r–v.

[11]For pews as devices for creating and sustaining social exclusivity, see Callum G. Brown, "The Costs of Pew-Renting: Church Management, Church-Going and Social Class in 19th-Century Glasgow," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38, no. 3 (1987), 347–61.

[12]AAM, Registrum Supplicatiorum (RS) 10, fol. 506v.

[13]AIM, AC 545 (ii), fol. 295r.

[14]AAM, RS 7, fols. 856r–v.

[15]For nonattendance at church in eighteenth-century Lancashire owing to "want of proper Apparel," see M. F. Snape, *The Church of England in Industrialising Society: The Lancashire Parish of Whalley in the 18th Century* (Woodbridge, UK, 2003), p. 25.

[16]"... ut pauperes, qui vel congruis carent vestimentis, vel ad rus profecturi sunt, eam audire si posint," *Synodus Dioecesana, 1703* (Malta, 1842), p. 54.

[17]AIM, Proceedings of the Inquisition (Proc.) 135B, fols. 602r–03v.

[18]National Library, Malta (NLM), Library (Libr.) 13, p. 223.

[19]For socially exclusive confraternities, see David Garrioch, "Lay-Religious Associations, Urban Identities, and Urban Space in Eighteenth-Century Milan," *Journal of Religious History*, 28, no. 1 (2004), 35–49.

Aloysius Gonzaga at the church of the Carmine at Valletta is a case in point; members could not be of low extraction, working in positions such as artisans and shopkeepers.[20]

There was, however, much solidarity among the parishioners. This social integration had its prime source in the Eucharist, since the people could partake of the body of Christ only if they had been reconciled with their enemies.[21] This Christian brotherhood or "social miracle," as John Bossy calls it,[22] was rooted and identified in the Christian ideal of charity. Thus, the poor were frequently entertained at the expense of the rich on feast days, when fruit and wine were distributed.[23] Well-to-do testators assigned cash,[24] bread,[25] and grain[26] for the destitute and the sick while they also dowered orphan girls.[27]

However, the communal dimension of the parish could be best understood in the context of the people's devotion to their town or village (*pajjizek*). Despite their close contiguity in a crowded island, Maltese parishioners strove to retain their separate identities.[28] They were reluctant to admit new people to whom they were often hostile.[29] Immigrants were never really accepted and integrated into the life of the village or town; their accents[30] and their loyalty to their patron saint probably never allowed them to shake off their association with their original home. They were made to feel that they did not

[20]AAM, RS 12, fol. 481r.

[21]For enmity as a cause for not receiving the Lord's Supper in Lutheran villages, see Bruce Tolley, *Pastors & Parishioners in Württemberg during the Late Reformation 1581–1621* (Stanford, CA, 1995), pp. 78–79.

[22]John Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge, UK, 1998) and *Christianity and the West 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 57–75. See also Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (London, 1992), pp. 91–95.

[23]Joseph Cassar-Pullicino, "Malta in 1575. Social Aspects of an Apostolic Visit," *Melita Historica* [*MH*], 2, no. 1 (1956), 41.

[24]AIM, RF [Reverenda Fabbrica] 274, fol. 37v.

[25]AAM, RS 10, fol. 741v.

[26]AIM, RF 258 (ii), fol. 519r.

[27]AAM, RS 11, fol. 207r. AIM, RF 264 (i), fols. 72r–78r.

[28]For regional variation, see Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), pp. 50–52.

[29]For village solidarity and prejudice against outsiders, see David E. Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World in Golden Age Castille: Mobility and Migration in Everyday Rural Life* (Cambridge, UK, 1996), esp. chap. 2.

[30]M.A. Vassalli recognized five such dialects in late eighteenth-century Malta; see *Ktyb yl Klym Malti mfisser byl-Latin u byt-Taljan sive Lexicon Melitense-Latino-Italum* (Rome, 1796), p. xvi.

belong to their place of adoption and remained outsiders, which their nicknames reinforced. One Giuseppe who resided at Siggiewi was still *il-Mosti* (the man from Mosta) in the eyes of the inhabitants.[31]

This concern for the parish owed its origin primarily to the fact that it would have been the parishioners themselves who had asked for its establishment. The Maltese parochial network was created in the Middle Ages (see figure 1). By 1436, when Bishop de Mello published a list of twelve *cappellanie*, the rise of the parish was well underway, as Birchircara was already a parish in 1402.[32] The process continued in the sixteenth century after the visit of the apostolic delegate Pietro Duzina in 1575[33] and intensified in the seventeenth century with the creation of fourteen new parishes.[34] The council of Trent had mandated the founding of new parishes, but this decree reinforced the people's wish to have their own priest and control their own affairs, believing that a community should have its own parish church.[35]

This sense of identification is further reinforced when one considers that existing chapels generally gained parochial status in the face of great opposition.[36] "Mother Churches" were powerful enough to resist, if not to prevent, the division of their territory, because granting a chapel its independence meant diminishing the rector's income.[37] Indeed, opposition could be so harsh that in some

[31]AAM, Supplicationes 17 (1758–1777), no. 46, fol. 4v.

[32]Anthony T. Luttrell, "The Cappella of Birchircara: 1402," *MH*, 8, no. 2 (1981), 156–60. Stanley Fiorini, "The Clergy of Malta, 1244 to 1460," *MH*, 13, no. 2 (2001), 165–68. G. Wettinger, *Il-Grajja Bikrija tal-Knisja Matrici t'Ghawdex, 1435–1551* (Malta, 1975), pp. 2, 5.

[33]For this visit, see G. Aquilina and Stanley Fiorini, eds., *Documentary Sources of Maltese History iv. Documents at the Vatican. No. 1 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Congregazione Vescovi e Regolari, Malta: Visita Apostolica, no. 51 Mgr Petrus Dusina, 1575* (Malta, 2001).

[34]G. F. Abela, *Della Descrittione di Malta Isola nel Mare Siciliano con le sue Antichità, ed altre Notizie* (Malta, 1647), pp. 358–87. See also Brian Blouet, *The Story of Malta* (London, 1967), pp. 93–122 and A. Bonnici, *Il-Matrici Kolleggjata ta' l-Assunta u l-Ewwel Parrocci ta' Ghawdex* (Malta, 1975).

[35]On how settlements gained full parochial status, see Andrew D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250–1550* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 67–77.

[36]On this point, see Christopher F. Black, "Confraternities and the Parish in the Context of Italian Catholic Reform," in *Confraternities and Catholic Reform in Italy, France and Spain*, ed. John P. Donnelly and Michael W. Maher (Kirksville, MO, 1999), pp. 3–5.

[37]For the difficulties faced by St. Gregory's in 1598, see PA (Parish Archives) Gargur, *Dismembrazione Casali Gregorii.*

FIGURE 1. The Maltese parishes in the eighteenth century. Reproduced by permission from Frans Ciappara, *Marriage in Malta in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Malta, 1988), 6.

instances, mother churches continued to demand various forms of allegiance from their daughter churches, even long after these had attained parochial status. In Gozo, they showed their subjection to the *matrice* by a yearly contribution of candles to the archpriest on Assumption day during High Mass.[38]

After establishing their parish, the inhabitants claimed control over it, which reinforced communal solidarity. Churchwardens were not always chosen by popular vote;[39] the bishop could appoint them during pastoral visitations,[40] or the canons of collegiate churches could appoint them, as was the case at Birchircara (St. Helen's).[41] But even in the latter cases, the parishioners could not object to the lack

[38]AIM, AC 546, fols. 88r–95v.
[39]AIM, Registrum Actorum Civilium (RAC) C3, fol. 318v.
[40]AAM, PV (Pastoral Visitations) 33, fols. 77r–v.
[41]AAM, PV 35, fols. 119r–v.

of a general parish democracy because wardens still had to give a public account of their finances. At his installation, the parish priest was given the church keys, symbolizing his ownership of the edifice, and put on the ring of his marriage with his "bride," the church.[42] In actuality, however, it was the people who possessed the fabric, and they never recognized the priest's claim over it. The incumbent was indispensable for saying Mass, preaching, and administering the sacraments. He read the gospel over the heads of the sick,[43] and his presence could also be sought in witchcraft rituals.[44] But for these services, the people paid him handsomely, with the tithe or Easter collection as the major portion of the funds that supported him.[45] They also provided him with a house close to the church.[46] In other words, although they did not choose him themselves, they were the paymasters who controlled his income.[47]

2.

The concern of the people for their parish was twofold. It was religious since the parishioners funded most of the liturgical services themselves. But the community was also responsible to adequately maintain the church fabric.

As has already been proved, the parishioners paid for most of the Masses, especially Masses for the dead.[48] But they initiated much of the remaining Catholic practice as well, and because Catholicism is essentially a religion of rituals,[49] the people paid for a dense liturgical year.

[42]Don Clearado Mamo, parish priest of Ghaxaq, died at Valletta on February 6, 1774, but he was buried in the church ("*sua sponsa*") of his former parish; see PA (Porto Salvo), Liber Defunctorum (Lib. Def.) VI, fol. 3r. For these symbolic rituals, see Frans Ciappara, *Mill-Qigħan ta' L-Istorja. Il-Kappillani fis-Seklu Tmintax* (Malta, 1987), p. 12.

[43]David F. Allen, "New Light on Malta during the Peace of Amiens, 1801–1803," *British Library Journal*, 20, no. 2 (Autumn, 1994), 180.

[44]For the presence of a priest on these occasions, see Frans Ciappara, *Society and the Inquisition in Early Modern Malta* (Malta, 2001), p. 267.

[45]Frans Ciappara, "The Financial Condition of Parish Priests in Late Eighteenth-Century Malta," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53, no. 1 (January, 2002), 97–98.

[46]AIM, RS 6, fols. 561v–63v.

[47]Frans Ciappara, "Parish Priest and Community in 18th-Century Malta: Patterns of Conflict," *Journal of Early Modern History*, 9, nos. 3–4 (2005), 329–47.

[48]Frans Ciappara, "*Una Messa in Perpetuum*: Perpetual Mass Bequests in Traditional Malta, 1750–1797," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 91 (2005), 278–99.

[49]For a masterful explanation of the liturgical year, consult the seminal work by Charles Phythian-Adams, *Local History and Folklore: A New Framework* (London, 1975).

According to one author, this meant the "integration of personal devotional gestures into the seasonal pattern of the liturgy."[50]

The first half of the church's calendar stretched from Advent until June and enacted the life of Jesus. Testators, like a "devout person" at the Greek Catholic church at Valletta, financed both the *novena* (a nine-day period of preparation for the birth of Jesus) as well as the service on Nativity day.[51] Others drafting wills assigned bequests for the solemnity of the Epiphany, which brought the Christmas season to an end.[52]

Ash Wednesday, when men and women knelt before a priest to receive the imposition of ashes, ushered in the season of Lent. In 1752, in preparation for this central feast of the liturgical year, the members of the sodality of the *Anime Purganti* of St. Savior's (Lija) started donating 2 tarì[53] each to the clergy to recite the *vespere dei defonti*.[54] Other benefactors left money for a weeklong course of spiritual exercises or to pay visiting confessors to help out at this busy time.[55] The devotion of the *Via Sagra* (*Via Crucis*) was most appropriate to this time of year. By means of fourteen stations or paintings, the faithful were helped to make a pilgrimage in spirit to the chief scenes of Christ's sufferings and death. The installation of these stations was a community effort and is recorded at Naxxar (1776),[56] città Rohan (1777), and Balzan (1784).[57]

Holy Week, initiated by Palm Sunday, was characterized by performances that dramatized its principal liturgical events. On Maundy Thursday it was the custom in some parishes to mount a costumed procession of Christ's death through the streets of the village or town.[58] In 1784, Giuseppe Ellul of St. Andrew's (Luqa) bequeathed

[50]Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 40. See also Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK, 2000), pp. 55–80.

[51]AAM, RS 7, fols. 915r, 939v–40r.

[52]AAM, RS 9, fol. 1153v.

[53]It may be useful to the reader to provide a primer on eighteenth-century Maltese currency and its modern equivalents. In eighteenth-century Maltese coinage, 1 scudo = 12 tarì and 1 tarì = 20 grani. €1 = 5.15 scudi = US$1.57.

[54]AAM, RS 6, fol. 605v.

[55]AAM, RS 10, fols. 578r–v, 663v.

[56]AIM, RF 276, fol. 261r.

[57]AAM, RS 10, fols. 34v–35r, 694r–v.

[58]For this traditional Maltese pageant, see G. Aquilina, *Il-Gimgha l-Kbira tal-Belt* (Malta, 1986). At Qormi, the procession took place on Palm Sunday in the afternoon; see AAM, Informationes 6, misc., no. 71.

part of his property for the pageant.[59] The Good Friday penitential rituals started with a three-hour-long sermon at noon. At Vittoriosa, Saverio Galea sponsored this moving ceremony in 1794 and stipulated that the *stabat mater* was to be intoned between each meditation.[60] Parishioners combined to pay the choristers to sing the psalm *miserere*, which brought the service to a close.[61] Pentecost (Whitsun) brought the narrative of Christ's life to an end. To celebrate this feast of the descent of the Holy Ghost on the apostles Aloisio Deceli of Naxxar in 1757 left 500 scudi so that with their interest, a High Mass would be sung at the high altar in front of the exposed sacrament.[62]

This last condition underlies the devotion of the Maltese for the "sacrament," a key element of the Counter-Reformation. The Eucharist had been instituted "to be received" as much as "to be adored,"[63] and Catholics reserved their greatest devotion to the tabernacle. At St. Mary's (Ghaxaq) this receptacle for consecrated hosts was made of silver, the gift of Carlo Mamo.[64] Generally it was made of marble or wood, even if in the latter case, it was lined with red satin on the inside and gilded on the outside.[65] The one at Tarxien was an imposing one, adorned by a number of wooden statues.[66] At Luqa, a picture of Christ embracing the cross was painted on its door, a gift of Ludovico Imbroll.[67]

The care and expenditure lavished on the high altar also revealed reverence to the host. In the eighteenth century, these stone structures began to be replaced with marble ones. At St. Paul's (Rabat), such an altar cost 400 scudi in 1747 and was composed of fine and different types of marble: *verde d'Egitto*, *rustico d'Egitto*, *dispro di Trapani*, *pietra venturina*, *savarezza bianca*.[68] In 1760, the Sant sisters defrayed expenses for the high altar at Qormi,[69] while at St. Philip's

[59]AAM, RS 12, fol. 464v.

[60]AAM, RS 11, fols. 413v–16r.

[61]AIM, RF 274, fol. 343r.

[62]AAM, RS 7, fols. 958v–60r.

[63]Virginia Reinburg, "Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France," *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 23, no. 3 (1992), 526–47.

[64]PA (Ghaxaq), Lib. Bapt. iv, unnumbered.

[65]ACM, Misc. 188, fol. 219r.

[66]AAM, PV 15, fols. 160v–161r. AAM, PV 25, fol. 213r.

[67]AAM, PV 22, fol. 329v. AAM, PV 24, fol. 337r. AAM, PV 32, fol. 381r.

[68]G. Azzopardi, "Opri fl-Irham: L-Artal Maggur tal-Lum u ta' Qabel," *Il-Festi Tagħna*, no. 13 (1988), 17–19.

[69]PA (Qormi), Lib. Bapt. 1731–1772, note by parish priest Vella on the cover.

(Zebbug), Maria Dimech donated the huge sum of 1000 scudi for such a structure.[70] Retables (*scanello*), or the ledge at the back, were still generally made of wood, but at Balzan in 1749, the accounts record expenses for their gilding.[71]

The lamp burning all day and night in the middle of the church further symbolized the importance of sacramental worship in people's lives. Daily benedictions in the evenings enhanced this devotion, funded so lavishly by parishioners such as Paolo Sciberras and Vincenzo Agius of Birchircara.[72] At Città Pinto, the apothecary Stanislao Gatt established this observance in 1788, "with the playing of the organ and the burning of candles and incense."[73]

Devotion to the host was also exemplified by the *quarant'ore*, a forty-hour-long adoration spread over three days.[74] Parishioners sponsored such exposition of the host on some particularly devout feast—for example, Christmas or Pentecost.[75] It was also occasioned by some specific purpose, such as to pray for rain,[76] the souls in purgatory,[77] and the safety of sailors at sea,[78] or to placate God's wrath during carnival time, believed to be an occasion for sin.[79] The *adorazione perpetua* (perpetual adoration) developed out of the forty hours' devotion. In 1769, Maria Vella of Siggiewi donated 364 scudi to the arch-confraternity of her village partly to fund a sermon every fifth Sunday about the Eucharist. In the second part of the sermon, the holy sacrament was exposed to the singing of the *pange lingua*.[80]

[70]S. Ciappara, *Storia del Zebbug e Sua Parrocchia* (Malta, 1882), p. 36. At St. Mary's (Ghaxaq), Carlo Mamo in 1757 spent less, 750 scudi; see PA (Ghaxaq), Lib. Bapt. iv, unnumbered.

[71]AAM, Conti 4A (Balzan), p. 37.

[72]AAM, Conti 10 (B'Kara), no. 97, p. 87. See also AAM, RS 7, fol. 711r.

[73]AAM, RS 11, fol. 194r.

[74]In 1762, the confraternity of the purification of Our Lady at Senglea attempted to spread the devotion over four days, from Christmas morning until the Feast of the Holy Innocents but the master of ceremonies overruled them; see RS 8, fols. 91r–92v.

[75]AAM, RS 11, fols. 236v–37v, fols. 303r–v.

[76]AAM, RS 10, fols. 374v–75v.

[77]AAM, RS 12, fols. 515r–v.

[78]AAM, RS 10, fol. 429r.

[79]AAM, RS 12, fols. 462v–63r. Bernard Dompnier, "Un Aspect de la Dévotion Eucharistique dans la France du XVII[e] Siècle: Les Prières des Quarante-Heures," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, 67 (1981), 5–31.

[80]AAM, RS 9, fols. 891r–93v.

Devotion to the host developed in the people the desire to render the sight spectacular. This wish was expressed particularly through processions when the host was borne round the parish, accompanied by all the clergy, the confraternities, and the people. This rite necessitated specific equipment and in 1779, the parishioners of Attard spent 85 scudi on a canopy.[81] At Zurrieq, a richly decorated monstrance was manufactured around 1744; it cost more than 466 scudi, most of which was donated by Maria Farrugia, while Giovanni Abela and Arcangelo Zammit paid 50 scudi each.[82] At Rabat in 1754, the churchwardens spent 211 scudi, 8 tarì, and 10 grani on such a *sfera*, while another 56 scudi and 9 tarì went for its gilding.[83]

One such occasion for the parading of the host was the *terza*, taking place on every third Sunday of the month.[84] But the host was especially commemorated on Corpus Christi.[85] This feast fell on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday and completed the sequence of celebrations that started with Advent.[86] On the first Friday following the octave of Corpus was celebrated the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.[87] Established as an official feast day by Pope Clement XIII in 1765,[88] this devotion, however, had been celebrated at St. Paul's (Valletta) since 1743.[89] At Cospicua in 1769, the feast featured a High Mass, the burning of twelve candles, and first and second vespers.[90] At Ghaxaq, Angelo Zammit not only bore in 1773 the expenses for the feast but also "for the great affection he professes towards the Divine Heart of Jesus and to propagate this devotion in the heart of the people," he paid for a painting representing Jesus holding the heart in his hand.[91]

[81]AAM, Conti 4A (Balzan), no. 86.

[82]A. Mangion, "Il-Kappillan Dun Carmine Delicata 1738–1765," *Programm tal-Festi Santa Katarina Zurrieq* (1990), 10.

[83]G. Azzopardi, "Xi Opri tal-Fidda fil-Kollegjata ta' San Pawl, Rabat," *Il-Festi Tagħna*, no. 18 (1993), 33.

[84]AAM, RS 9, fol. 733r. F. Mallia, *Il-Fratellanza tas-SS.Mu Sagrament fil-Parrocca ta' S.M. tal-Portu Salvu fil-Belt 1575–1975* (Malta, 1975), pp. 196–99.

[85]*Ibid*., pp. 157–83. For this feast, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, UK, 1997).

[86]AAM, RS 9, fol. 684v. AIM, AC 508, fol. 143r.

[87]AIM, RF 274, fol. 38r.

[88]Keith P. Luria, "The Counter-Reformation and Popular Spirituality," in *Christian Spirituality: Post-Reformation and Modern*, ed. Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers (New York, 1989), pp. 117–18.

[89]AAM, RS 6, fols. 606v–08v.

[90]AIM, RF 278, fol. 1r.

[91]AAM, RS 9, fol. 960r.

3.

If the liturgical year was firmly embedded in Christ, the ecclesiastical calendar also emphasized the importance of saints in the life of the church. Saints were models on which Christians fashioned their lives but also powerful helpers and healers in time of need as well.[92] Ss. Roche and Sebastian were invoked in times of plague, St. Anthony of Padua recovered lost objects, and St. Barbara protected people from lightning.

In return, clients funded saints' cults abundantly. They sang hymns to them, held processions on their feast days, and embarked on pilgrimages to their shrines. Relics were a prominent part of this manifestation of popular devotion. Costly silver reliquaries in which they were housed demonstrate the confidence people had in them.[93] But early modern devotion in Malta was mainly focused on images and paintings. However, if all the great saints of the church were venerated in Malta as in all Christendom, the cult of the Virgin Mary was the most popular.[94] Of the thirty-five parishes in Malta in the eighteenth century, sixteen were dedicated to her. The shrines of Our Lady of Pity (*tal Henena*) at Qrendi[95] and that of Our Lady of the Nativity at *ta Hasajet* at Birchircara[96] were visited daily by devotees. But the Marian shrine at Mellieha was the most beloved. It was popularly believed to have been depicted by St. Luke when he was shipwrecked at Malta with St. Paul in 60 AD.[97] Pilgrims were so numerous[98] that in 1776, the churchwardens invested 1124 scudi and 6 tarì in the bank of the *massa frumentaria* (grain department) that they had collected as alms.[99]

The Virgin's four major celebrations were her purification (February 2), Annunciation (March 25), Assumption (August 15), and nativity (September 8), but parishioners sponsored her various other attributes as well. In 1796, Anna Cusin left 1400 scudi to the churchwardens of the seven parishes of Gargur, Lija, Attard, Siggiewi, Mqabba, Ghaxaq,

[92]For saints in general, consult Stephen Wilson, ed., *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History* (Cambridge, UK, 1983).

[93]AAM, RS 10, fol. 195v.

[94]Vincent Borg, ed., *Marian Devotions in the Islands of Saint Paul, 1600–1800* (Malta, 1983).

[95]AAM, RS 8, fol. 207v.

[96]*Ibid.*, fols. 573v–74r. AAM, RS 9, fol. 677r.

[97]For this event, Acts 27–28.

[98]For one such reference, see AAM, Dicta 24, no. 28.

[99]AAM, RS 10, fols. 5v–6r.

and Floriana to celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Carmel with vespers, High Mass, and a sermon.[100] At St. Helen's, a testator willed money for the feast of the sacred heart of Mary. Since "it [was] not sanctioned by the Church," his brother petitioned the bishop in 1781 to celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Charity instead.[101] The Immaculate Conception would be proclaimed a dogma only in 1854,[102] but still it was celebrated much earlier in all the parishes, for example at Cospicua where it was the patronal feast.[103] At the nearby parish of St. Lawrence's (Vittoriosa), Giovanni Rizzo made a bequest of 100 scudi so that a High Mass would be sung. He specified that an organ, oboe, two violins, and a violincello would be played, and mortars fired.[104] Our Lady of Gennezzano or of Good Counsel was specially loved. In 1760, the Austin friars at their convent of St. Mark's at Rabat introduced her cult in Malta when they set up a *pia unione*.[105] The devotion soon spread to other localities such as Zebbug[106] and Mqabba, where, in addition to the feast day on April 27, a sermon in her honor was delivered on the second Sunday of every month.[107]

The cult of the Virgin was complemented by the cult of the saints. The "angelic youth" St. Aloysius Gonzaga, a chief saint of the Counter-Reformation, was particularly popular.[108] His feast was celebrated not only at the Jesuit church and college at Valletta but also in several towns and villages, including Vittoriosa, Tarxien, Ghaxaq, Cospicua, and Mosta.[109] As the feast of this "prodigious saint," June 21, generally fell on a working day, the parishioners of Siggiewi in 1763 petitioned the bishop to hold it on a Sunday, preferably the second Sunday of July or the first Sunday of September.[110]

[100]AAM, RS 12, fol. 506v.

[101]AAM, RS 10, fol. 464r.

[102]Nancy Mayberry, "The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception in Medieval and Renaissance Art, Literature, and Society," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* 21, no. 2 (1991), 207–24. For the antiquity of the devotion, see Barbara Sella, "Northern Italian Confraternities and the Immaculate Conception in the Fourteenth Century," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49, no. 4 (1998), 599–619.

[103]Ciappara, *Society and the Inquisition*, pp. 84–85.

[104]AAM, RS 9, fols. 1064r–v.

[105]For the story of how the painting was transferred by angels from Scutari to Gennezzano in Italy, see AAM, RS 7, fols. 1221v–22v.

[106]*Ibid*., fol. 1190v. AAM, RS 9, fol. 722v.

[107]AAM, RS 10, fols. 398v–99v.

[108]AAM, RS 8, fols. 404r–v.

[109]AAM, RS 9, fols. 1182r–v, 1130r–v.

[110]AAM, RS 8, fol. 133r. AAM, RS 7, fols. 1105r–v.

The people funded a vast array of other saints' feasts: the Guardian Angel, Ignatius Loyola, Francis of Paula, Vincent de Paul, Vincent Ferrer, John Evangelist, John the Baptist, Francis of Assisi, Francis Xavier, John of God, Catherine, Anne, and Joseph. The latter was particularly venerated as the patron saint of the dying.[111] At Vittoriosa, his feast on March 19 was preceded by a novena.[112] At Cospicua in 1781, the inhabitants collected 250 scudi so that the *procuratori* of his altar could pay for a *triduo*, or a High Mass, and a sermon on the three days preceding the feast.[113] In 1753, they had paid 34 scudi to Michelangelo Galdes for a new pedestal on which to carry the statue round the city on its feast day.[114]

Offerings to images were a prominent part of the manifestation of popular devotion. Oblations were both monetary[115] and in kind, such as gifts of cotton,[116] although some parishioners preferred to offer golden rings,[117] silver crowns,[118] and bracelets.[119] In 1770, several devotees at Birchircara offered golden buttons and rings to be recast into two earrings with jewels to adorn the image of Our Lady of Good Counsel.[120] At St. Philip's, so many silver items had been given to a picture of Baby Jesus that they were sold and a lamp worth 300 scudi ordered instead.[121] In 1782, Silvestro Cutajar left 200 scudi to Our Lady of Light at the Valletta marina so that eight Minims sang first and second vespers for 1 scudo and 4 tarì. He also donated ten *lustrini* to hang around the image on her feast day, two of which had the words *Sic Luceat* written on them.[122]

Endowing lights was another conventional form of piety.[123] In 1748, Andrea Vella of Gudja donated 1 scudo to finance the lantern in the

[111]Jean Delumeau, *Rassurer et Protéger. Le Sentiment de Sécurité dans l'Occident d'autrefois* (Paris, 1989), pp. 340–51. Michael W. Maher, *Devotion, the Society of Jesus, and the Idea of St. Joseph* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 21.

[112]AIM, RF 274, fol. 357v.

[113]AAM, RS 10, fols. 468r–v.

[114]AAM, Conti 15 (Cospicua), Sodalità S. Giuseppe (1751–55), no. 94. AAM, RS 10, fols. 673r–v.

[115]AIM, RF 258 (ii), fol. 519r. In 1748, the wardens at Balzan registered 1 scudo, 8 tarì, and 4 grani for Our Lady of Light; see AAM, Conti 4A (Balzan), no. 69A, p. 36.

[116]AAM, RS 8, fols. 602v–03v.

[117]AAM, Dicta 24, no. 55.

[118]AAM, Conti 1 (Attard), no. 40, p. 38. AAM, Conti 65 (Siggiewi), no. 6, p. 59.

[119]AAM, Conti 10 (B'Kara), no. 104, p. 21.

[120]AAM, Conti 66 (Siggiewi), no. 13, p. 3.

[121]AAM, RS 8, fols. 345r–46v.

[122]AIM, RF 260 (i), fols. 40v–50v.

[123]David A. Postles, "Lamps, Lights, and Layfolk: 'Popular' Devotion before the Black Death," *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999), 97–114. Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Keepers

chapel of the Holy Rosary.[124] Domenico Grech made bequests in 1739 to pay for lights at the statue of Our Lady of the Visitation at Gharb.[125] In 1780, the churchwardens of Attard received 4 tarì to maintain lights before an image of St. Joseph and another 2 tarì to maintain lights before an image of St. Francis of Assisi.[126] At Cospicua, the lights designated for St. Dimitri were endowed in 1740 when the wardens received 1 scudo and 6 tarì.[127] As a supplement to these oil lamps, candles illuminated these images. Wardens retrieved the droppings that they resold to the chandler,[128] but money was largely raised from parishioners' contributions.[129]

4.

The people's concern for their parishes was not simply sacred; it was also secular and concentrated on the church fabric.[130] Foreigners were impressed with the magnificence of Maltese churches and the excellent order in which they were maintained. When in 1664, Philip Skippon, an Englishman on the Grand Tour, went to Qormi, he described the church of St. George's as "very neat, and the altars curiously carved and adorned with statues and wrought out of the Malta stone."[131] Patrick Brydone echoed Skippon's impressions in 1770: "Every little village has a noble church, elegantly finished and adorned with statues of marble, rich tapestry, and a large quantity of silver plate. They are by much the handsomest country churches I have ever seen."[132]

The parish church was not just a place where the people prayed and received the sacraments. As the only building that could accom-

of the Lights: Late Medieval English Parish Guilds," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 14, no. 1 (1981), 28–29.

[124]AAM, Conti 38 (Gudja), no. 20, p. 27.

[125]AAM, RS 7, fols. 1205r–06v.

[126]AAM, Conti 2 (Attard), no. 55, pp. 84–85.

[127]AAM, Conti 13A (Cospicua), no. 78, p. 82.

[128]On October 8, 1752, the churchwardens of Cospicua sold 25 scudi and 1 tarì's worth of bits of candles to Cristoforo Grech; see AAM, Conti 15 (Cospicua), 95.

[129]AAM, Conti 38 (Gudja), no. 20, p. 31.

[130]On this topic, see J. H. Bettey, *Church & Community: The Parish Church in English Life* (Bradford-on-Avon, UK, 1979) and *Church and Parish: An Introduction for Local Historians* (London, 1987).

[131]Philip Skippon, *An Account of a Journey Made thro' Part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy, and France*, ed. Annsham Churchill (London, 1732), p. 622.

[132]Patrick Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta* (London, 1773), letter 15, Malta, June 5, 1770, p. 313.

modate a large gathering, it fulfilled an important social role by providing a forum for community gatherings. On March 14, 1751, the members of the five confraternities at St. Philip's, 285 strong, gathered together in the sacristy after vespers under the guidance of the bishop's representative to discuss their disputes with the clergy.[133] The forty poor Gargur families who received 1 scudo each were selected by lot in their own parish church.[134] In addition, it was in the parochial church that the people of Birchircara in 1762 chose by secret ballot which poor girl was to receive a marriage legacy.[135]

The church was a convenient place to communicate news of a wholly secular nature. Acting as the state's functionaries, incumbents read messages from the central government—for example, inviting the people to invest at 4 percent with the Order of St. John.[136] The church was also an art gallery where the paintings of local and foreign artists were displayed for the edification of all, a medium of religious propaganda. Furthermore, it served as a theater where the congregation heard the music of the best Maltese composers. The splendor and beauty of this elaborate ritual contrasted with the drab life of every day, and the liturgy's message of hope replaced the gloom that surrounded the people. Finally, it was in church that parishioners were buried so that the living could feel themselves in intimate connection with their dead relatives, friends, and neighbors.

In other words, the church, as the largest and the most impressive building in the parish, was a unique place, demonstrated by its location. At Rabat (Gozo), so the legend relates, the stones moved themselves from Gelmus hill to the site where the cathedral now stands.[137] A similar tradition is recorded at the village of Nadur. A saintly local man, Girgor Buttigieg, loaded his female donkey with stone and set it loose. When it arrived at the place where the parish church was later built, it stopped and would not move.[138]

The seventeenth century saw a wave of parish church construction. Former architects such as Tommaso Dingli had worked within "an iso-

[133]AAM, RS 7, fol. 655r.

[134]AAM, RS 11, fol. 343v.

[135]AAM, RS 8, fols. 135v–36v.

[136]AAM, RS 10, fol. 741v.

[137]A. Gauci, *Gozo: A Historical and Tourist Guide to the Island* (Gozo, 1969), p. 34.

[138]Agius de Soldanis, *Ghawdex bil-Grajja Tieghu*, trans. G. Farrugia (Malta, 1999), 2:153.

lated parochial environment." Now their simple style gave way to baroque architecture with its exuberant vitality.[139] A few parishes were spared much financial worry because they benefited from the generosity of patrons. At Rabat, Cosmana Navarra covered all the expenses,[140] and at Zejtun, Girgor Bonnici provided the site on which the church was built.[141] Most parishes, however, were not as fortunate and had to launch their own money-raising effort. In Malta, unlike England,[142] entertainments such as revels, ales, and plays were not used as fundraising activities. The church helped itself by selling unwanted items such as clocks,[143] old doors, and ladders,[144] or agricultural products such as carobs[145] and olives.[146] In 1759, the wardens at Cospicua sold several unwanted gold and silver articles.[147] Other churches leased vestments such as the cope and the tunicle to other parishes.[148] They also sold their services. Cross bearing during processions, for instance, must have been a coveted role since crucifers paid for it.[149] It was also a common custom for churchwardens to buy chickens, which they then distributed among the people to be sold later.[150]

To reduce expenses in the building of the church, parishioners gave their labor mostly free of charge on Sundays and other feast days—a pint of wine might have served as payment.[151] At Mqabba, the builders' fare was meat, pasta, bread, cheese, and olives, while child laborers were given two *mondelli* of nuts, at the cost of 2 tarì and 4 grani in 1729. The church symbolized parish identity and therefore it was only for the specialized work that parishioners looked to outsiders. One case comes from St. Catherine's (Zurrieq), which hired a carver, Petruzzo Callus, from Zebbug.[152]

[139]Conrad Thake, *Baroque Churches in Malta* (Malta, 1995).

[140]J. Azzopardi, "Cosmana Navarra Fondatrici u Benefattrici, " *Il-Festi Taghna*, no. 19 (1994), 7–13.

[141]J.Abela, *300 Sena Ilu. Tifkira tat-Tqeghid ta' l-Ewwel Gebla tal-Knisja Parrokkjali taz-Zejtun, 1692–1992* (Malta, 1992), pp. 18–28.

[142]For such activities, see French, *The People of the Parish*, pp. 130–36.

[143]AAM, Conti 2 (Attard), no. 55, p. 83.

[144]AAM, Conti 1 (Attard), no. 40, p. 24.

[145]AAM, Conti 17 (Qrendi), no. 16, p. 42.

[146]AAM, Conti 38 (Gudja), p. 38.

[147]AAM, RS 7, fol. 1151v.

[148]AAM, Conti 4A (Balzan), no. 80, p. 55. AAM, Conti 47 (Mqabba), no. 1, p. 39.

[149]AAM, Conti 1 (Attard), no. 40, p. 25.

[150]AAM, Conti 47 (Mqabba), no. 13, p. 4.

[151]Vincent Borg, *Il-Knisja Parrokkjali ta' Hal-Tarxien* (Malta, 1973), p. 24.

[152]A. Mangion, "Bini mill-Gdid tal-Faccata tal-Knisja taz-Zurrieq, 1753–1758," *Programm tal-Festa* (1992), 19.

Wardens' accounts do not suggest that rates were levied, and parishes relied mainly on voluntary collections. This activity involved most of the faithful, including the poor widow who gave only a mite. Possibly there were some parishioners who refused to contribute when the collectors arrived, but those who did not support their church must have been few. In 1726, a collection was made at Safi; of forty-one families, only nine gave nothing.[153]

Several of these individual gifts arrived at the time of death in the form of mortuary benefactions. Few testators could afford to be as generous as Vincenzo Delicata and his wife, Maria, who left their belongings to the church of St. Publius—a field, a room, and 875 scudi.[154] More typical were Alberto Farrugia of Luqa, who, in 1635, left 10 scudi, and notary Mario Briffa, whose contribution in 1641 amounted to 50 scudi.[155]

Collections were made during Mass as well as in the interval between the first and second part of sermons or even after processions. Offering boxes were placed in churches[156] and carried from door to door. As the sums involved were enormous, several collections were held. At St. Savior's, there were collections between the years 1694 and 1709, by which time the sum of 762 scudi, 5 tarì, and 8 grani had been collected.

The building of the parish church involved a large financial investment, but the commitment of the people did not stop with the completion of the church fabric. Architectural alterations were made over time. The parish church at Zebbug was ready by 1632, but by about 1650, it had two new altars, dedicated to Our Lady of Carmel and St. Joseph respectively. Ten years later, the church was enlarged along its eastern axis, remodeling the choir space through a spaciously proportioned apse. The people contributed lavishly, especially every New Year's Day between 1660 and 1664.[157] The alterations occurred for various reasons, but often because of sheer local pride, as parishes vied with each other in beautifying their churches.[158] At Gargur, Zabbar, and

[153]J. Micallef, *L-Istorja ta' Hal-Safi* (Malta, 1980), p. 43.

[154]AAM, RS 10, fols. 232r–34v.

[155]PA (Luqa), Lib. Def. 1, pp. 2, 6.

[156]At the parish of Attard between May 20, 1685, and February 3, 1687, collections in church amounted to 55 scudi, 36 tarì, and 20 grani.

[157]Salv Caruana, "The Apse of the Choir in the Church of St. Philip of Aggira at Zebbug," *MH*, 11, no. 3 (1994), 275–80.

[158]Between June 1, 1733, and October 20, 1739, the parishioners of Mqabba collected the sum of 208 scudi, 3 tarì, and 10 grani to gild the titular altar of the Assumption; see AAM, Conti 46 (Mqabba), no. 13.

Zurrieq, for example, the old façade was removed and replaced by a new one.[159] Changes also could be due to the commitment of the members to their brotherhood, or the popularity of new devotions, essentially Counter-Reformation ones. The altar dedicated to St. Julian at St. Andrew's is a case in point. It had been one of the first altars to be set up in the new church. But when in 1717, it was taken over by the *sodalità degli agonizzanti,* it was built anew in the baroque style, and the painting was replaced by a scene of the Crucifixion.[160]

The erection and maintenance of these altars underlies the parishioners' control of their church and the active role they played in the liturgical life of their communities.[161] An example of the allegiance of the people to these altars can be taken from the devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary at the parish of St. Savior's. Between 1702 and 1706, the painter Alessio Erardi[162] was paid 150 scudi for depicting the mysteries of the rosary. Work then started on sculpturing and gilding the altar's façade. Two benefactors partially financed it with 60 scudi, half the sum the master gilder Gelfo received between October 1716 and August 1717. Another gilder, Maruzzo Bremon, gilded the candlesticks, the confraternity's crucifix, and, in 1712, the altar's retable. Lastly, the banner of white damask cost 135 scudi, 10 tarì, and 5 grani.[163]

After construction, churches had to be furnished. Bells were housed in towers so that they could be heard across the countryside[164]—signaling the hours of the day; calling the faithful to prayer; providing notice of national emergencies (such as the insurrection against the French in

[159]F. Pace, *Il-Gargur. In-Nies u l-Knejjes Tiegħu* (Malta, 2000), pp. 103–04. K. Bonavia, "Il-Faccata tas-Santwarju, 1738–1750," *Lehen is-Santwarju* (1986), 5–12. Mangion, "Bini mill-Gdid tal-Faccata," pp. 13–45.

[160]G. Micallef, *Hal-Luqa. Niesha u Grajjietha*, 114–16 (Malta, 1975), pp. 114–16.

[161]A. Vella, "L-Istorja Ekklezjastika ta' Hal-Ghaxaq," in *Hal-Ghaxaq u Nieshu*, ed. H. Vella (Malta, 2006), pp. 41–110. K. Bonavia, *L-Artali fil-Knisja. Xhieda tal-Hajja Religjuza wara s-Seklu 16* (Malta, 2004). For churches in Paris, see Anne le Pas de Sécheval, "Le mécénat laïc dans les églises de Paris au XVII[e] siècle: quelques réflexions," in *L'édifice religieux: lieu de pouvoir, pouvoir du lieu*, ed. Pascal Julien (Aix-en-Provence, 2000), pp. 57–68.

[162]C. Bonavia, "Stefano and Alessio Erardi," *Sunday Times* [Malta], December 19, 1992. M. Buhagiar, "Francesco Vincenzo Zahra (1710–1773). A Critical Appreciation," in *Francesco Zahra 1710–1773*, ed. John Azzopardi (Malta, 1986), p. 48.

[163]Vincent Borg, ed., *Il-Knisja Parrokkjali ta' Hal-Lija: Storja, Arkitettura, Pittura* (Malta, 1982), pp. 32–36.

[164]For a general description of bells in Malta, see John Debono, *Art and Artisans in St John's and Other Churches in the Maltese Islands ca. 1650–1800: Stone Carving, Marble, Bells, Clocks and Organs* (Malta, 2005), pp. 185–319.

September 1798); and, according to the inscription on a bell at the cathedral church at Gozo, driving away devils as well as warding off violent storms and thunder (*daemones expello tempestatesque sereno*).[165] The parishioners paid willingly for this social convenience, even if it cost them a great financial sum. In 1726–28, the inhabitants of Siggiewi contributed more than 1235 scudi for the recasting of the "great bell."[166] This financial burden also could be seen at Lija. A new bell was ordered in 1740, but it was only in 1751 that the last payment of 26 scudi and 3 tarì was made.[167] At St. Philip's, however, Baron Michele Azzopardi personally financed a bell in 1734; and at Luqa in 1795, Giuseppe Casha disbursed 1732 scudi for two bells.[168] At St. Leonard's (Kirkop) in 1750, the brothers Aloisio and Pietro Dalli donated a newly cast bell weighing about 2 *quintali* to their parish church.[169]

Bells were linked with the parish clock.[170] This simple mechanism, consisting of interacting cogwheels, nonetheless had a considerable cost. Gio. Domenico Portelli, who donated 200 scudi, largely financed the one at Gargur in 1756.[171] At Balzan in 1738, Grazio Mifsud bequeathed a piece of land for the purpose,[172] while at Cospicua, the project, costing 619 scudi and 4 tarì, engaged the energy of many people in 1791.[173]

The parishioners issued an impressively high proportion of their revenues on other furnishings: the confessionals,[174] the choir stalls,[175] the *cascarizzi* (chest of drawers for the vestry),[176] and the baptismal[177] and holy water fonts.[178] In 1738, Flaminio Galea donated a walnut pulpit to the parish church at Lija.[179] The Attard parish accounts

[165]For England, see M. D. Anderson, *History and Imagery in British Churches* (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 236–37.

[166]AAM, Conti 65 (Siggiewi), no. 4.

[167]Borg, *Il-Knisja Parrokkjali ta' Hal-Lija*, p. 68.

[168]AAM, PV 45, fol. 72v.

[169]Notarial Archives, Valletta (NAV), Notary F. Alfano, 18/526, fol. 107r, April 4, 1750.

[170]Debono, *Art and Artisans*, pp. 323–78.

[171]Pace, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[172]Dimech, *Hal-Balzan*, pp. 72–73.

[173]AAM, RS 11, fols. 359r–v.

[174]AAM, Conti 47 (Mqabba), no. 1, p. 43.

[175]Ciappara, *Storia del Zebbug*, p. 36.

[176]AAM, RS 8, fol. 108r.

[177]At Lija in 1747, it cost 74 scudi, 2 tarì, and 6 grani; see AAM, Conti 45, no. 4, p. 69.

[178]In 1760, two such fonts cost the people of Zurrieq 70 scudi and 9 tarì; see PA (Zurrieq), *Libro Vda. Lampade, 1745–1791*, fol. 161v.

[179]AAM, PV 36, fol. 539v. AAM, PV 33, pp. 276–77.

recorded payment of 135 scudi and 8 tarì for one in 1723,[180] while at St. Paul's (Safi), Maria and her sister contributed 50 scudi between them in 1773.[181] As without the accompaniment of an organ the priest must have found the task of intoning the liturgy extremely difficult, most churches were furnished with organs.[182] These instruments not only lent splendor to the church but also, as one parish priest put it, they "stirred the people to take part in the sacred functions with more devotion."The price of an organ in the eighteenth century was around 400 scudi, as was the case at Rabat[183] and Mqabba,[184] but the one at Zurrieq, built by Donato del Piano, a leading manufacturer of organs in Italy, cost the parishioners 75 scudi more.[185]

On feast days, the bare walls of the church were draped with hangings or *tapezzeria*. Expenses for the making of such damask fabric feature in most surviving churchwardens' accounts so that at Siggiewi, 842 scudi, 7 tarì, and 16 grani are recorded to have been collected.[186] At St. Savior's, the material, 36 *canne* in all, was brought from Valencia for a cost of 253 scudi, 3 tarì, and 10 grani. Six benefactors donated 89 scudi and 6 tarì with the rest of the sum collected from the people.[187] At Zebbug in 1766, a benefactor donated 200 scudi[188] for the project, but the confraternities agreed to contribute their share as well.[189] Indeed, some parishes could not afford to have such expensive hangings of their own and hired them for special occasions, like the patronal feast.[190]

Catholic ritual demanded the consumption of wine and hosts, the latter particularly as only the clergy consumed wine. For this purpose,

[180]AAM, Conti 1 (Attard), pp. 37–40.

[181]NAV, Notary Michel'Angelo Farrugia, 6/817, fol. 214r, March 3, 1773.

[182]Debono, *Art and Artisans*, pp. 381–449. H. Agius Muscat and L. Buono, eds., *Old Organs in Malta and Gozo.A Collection of Studies* (Malta, 1998).

[183]G. Azzopardi, "Muzika u Muzicisti fil-Kollegjata ta' San Pawl, Rabat," *Il-Festi Tagħna*, no. 14 (1989), 7–8.

[184]Part of the expenses were paid by the parishioners, and the rest, 150 scudi in all, were donated by the confraternities; altars and the filial church of St. Catherine; see AAM, Conti 47 (Mqabba), no. 4.

[185]AAM, AC 93 (1731–32), fols. 248v–49v.The organ at Naxxar was the work of Pietro Santucci, for which he received 420 scudi *c.* 1775. See P. Catania, *In-Naxxar.Titwiliet fl-Istorja* (Malta, 1999), pp. 64–65.

[186]AAM, Conti 65 (Siggiewi), no. 4, pp. 80–94.

[187]Borg, *Il-Knisja Parrokkjali ta' Hal-Lija*, pp. 65–66.AAM, Conti 45, no. 4, pp. 6, 65.

[188]AAM, RS 9, fols. 941r–v.

[189]AAM, RS 8, fols. 384v–86r.

[190]AAM, Conti 4A (Balzan), p. 55. AAM, Dicta 27, no. 46.

Baroness Rosa Maria Galea of St. Paul's (Valletta) founded a legacy of 6 scudi a year in 1769.[191] At Mqabba, the Baldacchino brothers and sisters donated 50 scudi, but these benefactors mentioned "other ingredients" as well.[192] They must have meant, for instance, charcoal and frankincense, so much a part of the Catholic liturgical spectacle. These two ingredients could not have been a heavy financial burden on the community. At Cospicua, a rotolo of incense, costing only 1 scudo, supplied the church throughout 1748, and the wardens' account for Attard registers a mere 5 tarì to pay for the charcoal for the entire year.[193]

Books, utensils, and vestments required for the performance of divine service were other forms of benefaction. A parish church had to be well supplied with liturgical books, and parishioners must have taken this responsibility seriously. The martyrology, willed by Cosmana Navarra to St. Paul's in 1673, was bound in leather and bore her heraldic arms on the cover as a mark of personal patronage.[194] On September 17, 1689, Caterinuzza Azzopardi of St. Philip's donated 25 scudi for three books of *canto fermo* printed in Venice.[195] On November 30, 1750, Cospicua parish paid 6 scudi and 6 tarì for two Roman missals.[196] Tarxien churchwardens noted a payment of 7 tarì and 10 grani for the purchase of a new ritual on October 6, 1701. The accounts at the same parish on September 23, 1702, record 2 tarì for a quire, or additional folio to the missal, for the feast of the "new saints."[197]

Churchwardens' accounts rarely mention plate.[198] The reason may have been that once acquired, silver articles had to be replaced only infrequently. One of these sporadic references mentions Giovanni Giorgion, who donated a silver ciborium to St. Margaret's (Gozo) in 1698.[199] In 1723, the *procuratori* at Qrendi spent 4 tarì and 4 grani on

[191]AAM, RS 9, fol. 967v.

[192]AAM, RS 11, fol. 359v.

[193]AAM, Conti 2 (Attard), no. 41, p. 39.

[194]G. Azzopardi, "Cosmana Navarra Fondatrici u Benefattrici," *Il-Festi Tagħna*, no. 19 (1994), p. 13.

[195]This was plain or Gregorian chant as opposed to *canto figurato* or polyphonic music. See Stanley Fiorini, "Church Music and Musicians in Late Medieval Malta," *MH,* 10, no. 1 (1988), 2.

[196]AAM, Conti 15 (Cospicua), no. 89, p. 128.

[197]AAM, Conti 67 (Tarxien), no. 8, pp. 25–26.

[198]On this subject, see the two-volume work by Jimmy Farrugia, *Antique Maltese Ecclesiastical Silver* (Malta, 2001).

[199]AAM, PV (1698), fol. 544v.

a dozen cruets and the following year 1 scudo, 1 tarì, and 10 grani for a sprinkler.[200] At Zebbug, six silver candlesticks for the high altar cost 9640 scudi. The benefactors included Dr. Agius and some "pious persons," while Michele Cilia lent 600 scudi to the churchwardens to be repaid in two years' time. The processional cross at Lija came from the generosity of the sisters Eugenia and Teresa Vella in 1737;[201] at St. Paul's (Rabat), it was the gift of Giacomo Filippo Gauci in 1713.[202]

All churches were well endowed with religious vestments. There are references in the Cospicua parish accounts that 3 scudi, 3 tarì, and 10 grani were paid in 1744 to the tailor Giuseppe Caruana (Mazzarello) for making two tunicles and a chasuble.[203] In 1753 at the same parish, 500 scudi—the bequest of Vittorio Grech—were spent on the purchase of a cope, a chasuble, and two tunicles.[204] In some instances, testators specified the fabric and decoration to be supplied, such as French brocade embroidered with golden thread or black tunicles adorned with silver lace.[205] Wardens' accounts do not always specify whether these vestments were made within the parish. It is simply registered at Tarxien in 1701 that 3 scudi and 10 grani were spent on 2 *canne* and 1 *palmo* of camlet (*ciammellotto*) and 1 *onza* of silk for a new chasuble. The fabric was then given to the tailor Domenico Grima, who was paid 8 tarì.[206]

In addition, churches needed to be cleaned, whitewashed, and kept in good condition.[207] Bells were a constant demand on parish resources, requiring much care. They not infrequently broke,[208] and their clappers suffered damage through incessant ringing and so required replacing, recasting, or mending.[209] Regular expenses were the leather thong that attached the clapper to the bell and the ropes.[210]

[200]AAM, Conti 18 (1723–1741), no. 1, 33, 35.

[201]Borg, *Il-KnisjaParrokkjali ta' Hal-Lija*, pp. 29–30.

[202]G. Azzopardi, "Xi Opri tal-Fidda fil-Kollegjata ta' San Pawl, Rabat," *Il-Festi Tagħna*, no. 18 (1993), 34.

[203]AAM, Conti 15 (Cospicua), no. 84, p. 100.

[204]AAM, RS 7, fol. 719v.

[205]AAM, RS 9, fols. 1018r–v. AAM, Conti 4A (Balzan), p. 58.

[206]AAM, Conti 67 (Tarxien), no. 8, p. 24.

[207]The accounts at Mqabba for 1745 record the payment of 15 scudi and 4 tarì for this purpose; see AAM, Conti 47 (Mqabba), no. 1, p. 52.

[208]At casal Caccia (Gozo), the major bell broke on March 24, 1740, while the sacristan was ringing for vespers; see AAM, RS 11, fols. 249r–v. For the case at Zebbug, see NLM, Libr. 13, p. 286.

[209]AAM, Conti 15 (Cospicua), no. 88, p. 129.

[210]AAM, Conti 4A (Balzan), p. 56.

Roofs were repaired,[211] doors strengthened with linseed oil,[212] paintings restored,[213] and tabernacles renewed and adorned periodically.[214] Windowpanes broke,[215] and books and vestments were subject to damage through persistent use.[216] Organs were retuned and their bellows, especially liable to leak, repaired.[217]

This essay has attempted to convey how the laity shaped and participated in Maltese church life in the early modern era. The array of data presented makes a powerful case for the parish as central to the lives of the people. As a unit of local church government, the parish was a single entity but as a heterogeneous social body, it was extremely nonegalitarian, composed of widely different social types. However, despite its hierarchical composition and its social inequality, the parish, in striking contrast to the central government, upheld communal ideals of participation.

At the local level, the inhabitants held the parish firmly in their hands by investing a great deal in their churches. They "paid" the clergy for what Robert Whiting termed "dependent activities," or the key rites of the church such as administering the sacraments. But they also dug deep into their pockets to build, furnish, and maintain churches as well as to supply various liturgical items. All these activities demonstrate the centrality of religion in people's lives, but they also offered the parishioners opportunities to act collectively and feel members of the community. Above all, they justified the parishioners' claim that they were the masters and the church was theirs.

[211]On December 29, 1747, Cospicua parish disbursed 2 scudi, 5 tarì, and 15 grani for such work; see AAM, Conti 15 (Cospicua), no. 88, p. 113.

[212]AAM, Conti 65A (Senglea), no. 20, p. 3.

[213]AAM, RS 8, fols. 501r–02v, 553v.

[214]*Ibid.*, fol. 93r.

[215]AAM, Conti 66 (Siggiewi), no. 16, p. 79.

[216]AAM, Conti 18 (Qrendi), no. 18, p. 33. AAM, Conti 38 (Gudja), no. 20, p. 38.

[217]AAM, Conti 2 (Attard), no. 41, p. 40. AAM, RS 10, fol. 7v.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, HIS FAMILY, AND "ROMANISM"

BY

THOMAS E. BLANTZ, C.S.C.*

In the presidential campaign of 1884, a supporter of Republican nominee James G. Blaine, in Blaine's presence, referred to the Democratic Party as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion"—that is, the party of drunkards, Catholics, and rebels. Blaine may not have heard the remark—he publicly repudiated it three days later—but by then the damage had been done. Angry at the infamous association with drunkards and rebels, many Catholics may have switched their allegiance to Democrat Grover Cleveland that fall, thus swinging the election against Blaine. There is strong evidence, however, that Blaine had been baptized a Catholic and, although never practicing, was thus the first baptized Catholic nominated for the presidency, forty-four years before Al Smith in 1928.

At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, October 29, 1884, Republican presidential nominee James G. Blaine, accompanied by his wife and several of his children, left his suite in New York's Fifth Avenue Hotel to descend into the lobby where a group of churchmen had assembled to greet him.[1] Rev. Samuel D.

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[1]This meeting of Blaine with the New York clergy is recounted in almost every study of the election of 1884. See, for example, Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1984), p. 233; John A. Garraty, *The New Commonwealth* (New York, 1968), pp. 285–86; Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The United States since 1865* (New York, 1949), p. 70; Mark D. Hirsch, "Election of 1884," in *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789–1968*, ed. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Fred L. Israel (New York, 1985), 4:1577–81; Matthew Josephson, *The Politicos, 1865–1896* (New York, 1938), pp. 368–69; Frank W. Mack, "'Rum, Romanism and Rebellion,' How James G. Blaine Was Defeated by a Phrase," *Harper's Weekly*, XLVIII (July 23, 1904), 1140–42; Robert D. Marcus, *Grand Old Party: Political Structure in the Gilded Age, 1880–1896* (New York, 1971), pp. 98–99; H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics,*

Burchard, pastor of Murray Hill Presbyterian Church, had been selected to deliver their official welcome.

Each day that fall had brought Blaine closer to what he hoped would be the pinnacle of his career (see figure 1). Born in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, in 1830, he had graduated from nearby Washington College at the early age of seventeen, taught school for a short time, and then moved to Augusta, Maine, in 1854 to edit the Kennebec *Journal*. After a brief stint in the Maine state assembly, he was sent to Washington, D.C., as a member of the House of Representatives in 1862, serving as Speaker from 1869 to 1875. He moved to the Senate in 1876; served as President James Garfield's secretary of state in 1881; and, after failing to receive his party's presidential nomination in 1876 and 1880, had finally secured that prize in the summer of 1884.[2]

The political differences between Blaine and his Democratic opponent that year, New York governor Grover Cleveland, were not great, and the two party platforms remained moderate and vague.[3] Both candidates seemed to favor Civil Service reform, taxes and tariffs only for needed government revenue, sound money, public lands chiefly for homesteads and small holders, and opportunities for decent livelihood for all laborers.[4] With few policy differences between the two candidates, the campaign had degenerated into scurrilous attacks on the candidates' characters. Blaine was accused of unsavory dealings in railroad bonds and perhaps complicity in the celebrated Credit Mobilier scandal during his years as Speaker of the House. Cleveland's reputation in public life had been unchallenged but there was a private scandal: he had apparently fathered an illegitimate child a few years before and had accepted responsibility. These

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1877–1896 (Syracuse, NY, 1969), pp. 226–29; Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, *A History of the United States since the Civil War* (New York, 1931), 4:205–06; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley, 1877–1896* (New York, 1919), p. 225; Eugene H. Roseboom, *A History of Presidential Elections* (New York, 1964), p. 272; and Harrison Cook Thomas, *The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884* (New York, 1919), pp. 222–23.

[2]Edward P. Crapol, *James G. Blaine: Architect of Empire* (Wilmington, DE, 2000); David Saville Muzzey, *James G. Blaine: A Political Idol of Other Days* (New York, 1935); Gail Hamilton [Mary Abigail Dodge], *Biography of James G. Blaine* (Norwich, CT, 1895); and Willis Fletcher Johnson, *Life of James G. Blaine* (Philadelphia, 1893).

[3]The best biography of Cleveland is Allen Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1933).

[4]The party platforms are printed in Hirsch, "Election of 1884," pp. 1583–91.

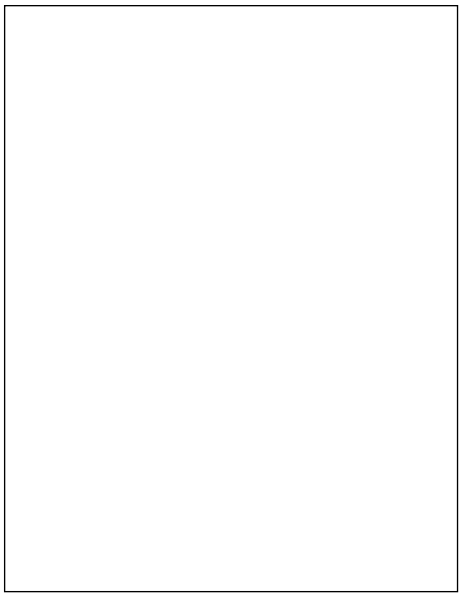

FIGURE 1. Presidential candidate James G. Blaine, photographed between 1885 and 1893. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction number LC-USZ61-451.

differences in their public and private lives led reformer George W. Curtis to remark[5]:

> We are told that Mr. Blaine has been delinquent in office, but blameless in private life, while Mr. Cleveland has been a model of official integrity but culpable in his personal relations. We should therefore elect Mr. Cleveland to the public office which he is so well qualified to fill and remand Mr. Blaine to the private station which he is so admirably fitted to adorn.

On that fateful day, it was only by chance that Rev. Burchard was called upon to welcome candidate Blaine.[6] The scheduled speaker, Dr. Thomas Armitage of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, had been delayed in Philadelphia that morning, and Burchard was a last-minute replace-

[5]Quoted in Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, p. 233.

[6]This was not the only embarrassment for Blaine that day. Later that evening he was guest of honor at a sumptuous dinner at Delmonico's Restaurant, attended by more than two hundred Republicans—many of them millionaires and some with unsavory reputations—and Blaine's attendance at such an ostentatiously opulent affair at a time of some financial stringency alienated many.

ment. Mounting the lower steps to stand next to Blaine, he faced the assembled clergymen and offered his official greeting in their name:[7]

> We are very happy to welcome you to this circle. You see here a representation of all the denominations of this city. You see the large number that are represented. We are your friends, Mr. Blaine. Notwithstanding all the calumnies that have been waged in the papers against you, we stand by your side. We expect to vote for you next Tuesday. We have a higher expectation, which is that you will be President of the United States, and that you will do honor to your name, to the United States, and to the high office you will occupy. We are Republicans, and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents have been Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion. We are loyal to our flag, we are loyal to you.

Linking Catholicism ("Romanism") with heavy drinkers and anti-union secessionists was a serious and gratuitous insult to the New York Irish and to Catholics across the country. It was not a new expression—Garfield had phrased it "rebellion, Catholicism, and whiskey" in an 1876 letter[8]—but Blaine did nothing to distance himself from it. Perhaps he had been distracted and did not hear it; perhaps he was collecting his thoughts for his own reply to the assembled clergymen; or perhaps he thought, and hoped, that the words would travel no further than the hotel lobby. If he did, it was in vain; Democratic strategists pounced immediately, and copies of Burchard's remarks, at times even attributed to Blaine himself, were sent to Catholic papers and parishes across the land.[9] As soon as Blaine realized the blow he was taking, he addressed the incident directly:[10]

> My answer is, first, that the unfortunate and ill-considered expression of another man was falsely attributed to me; and in the next place, it gives me an opportunity to say at the close of the national campaign that in the public speeches which I have made I have refrained carefully and instinctively from any disrespectful allusion to the Democratic Party. . . . I am the last man in the United States who would make a disrespectful allusion to another man's religion . . . and though a Protestant by conviction myself and connected with a Protestant church, I should esteem myself most degraded if . . . I could in any presence make a disrespectful allusion to that ancient faith in which my mother lived and died.

[7]Burchard's remarks are most conveniently available in Hirsch, "Election of 1884," p. 1578.

[8]Quoted in Robert Granville Caldwell, *James A. Garfield* (New York, 1931), p. 251.

[9]See n. 1.

[10]Quoted in Muzzey, *James G. Blaine*, p. 317, and Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley*, p. 228.

This disclaimer on November 1 may have been sincere, but it was too late. The words of Burchard had already been given wide publicity, and the election was a mere three days away. Blaine was defeated by a narrow 23,000 votes out of nearly 10 million cast. He lost New York by less than 1,150 votes, and, had he carried New York, he would have carried the election.[11]

Commentators have long debated the impact of Burchard's ill-chosen remarks on the election. Blaine himself seemed to think they were crucial. "I should have carried New York by 10,000 if the weather had been clear on election day, and Dr. Burchard had been doing missionary work in Asia Minor or Cochin China," he remarked.[12] He later referred to Burchard as "an Ass in the shape of a Preacher."[13] Many later writers seemed to agree. Willis Fletcher Johnson suggested that "had the election been held before Dr. Burchard's speech was made there is no doubt but that he [Blaine] would have been handsomely elected."[14] According to Matthew Josephson, "the mood of the Irish and other Catholic people in New England and New York, previously cool to Cleveland, quickly veered to a frenzy of anger against the Republican leader—at a moment, five days before the election, when it was too late to repair the mischief."[15] Eugene Roseboom believed that "enough Irish votes were probably lost to change the result in New York."[16] Robert Marcus agreed: "the effect of this incident, which all agreed was considerable, cost more votes than the Republicans could afford."[17] A hundred years after the election, Mark Hirsch wrote, "thousands of Catholic votes were probably lost for Blaine. Many Irishmen deserted him with heavy hearts for he had been their favorite, but such a remark could not be allowed to pass unnoticed or unchallenged."[18] The title of Richard Harlan's article, "The Phrase That Beat Blaine," and the subtitle of Frank W. Mack's, "How James G. Blaine Was Defeated by a Phrase," convey the assessment of Burchard's words on the Blaine campaign.[19]

[11]A good summary of the election results is in Hirsch, "Election of 1884," pp. 1579–81 and 1611.

[12]Quoted in Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley*, p. 232.

[13]Quoted in Rhodes, *History*, p. 231.

[14]Johnson, *Life of Blaine*, p. 447.

[15]Josephson, *The Politicos*, p. 369.

[16]Roseboom, *History of Presidential Elections*, p. 272.

[17]Marcus, *Grand Old Party*, p. 98.

[18]Hirsch, "Election of 1884," p. 1578.

[19]Mack, "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion," p. 1140, and Richard D. Harlan, "The Phrase That Beat Blaine," *The Outlook*, CXXVI (December 8, 1920), 649.

Other commentators believed the Burchard welcome has been given too much weight. Sean Cashman suggested that the Republicans' snub of the Prohibition Party leaders' overtures and Blaine's presence at the opulent Delmonico restaurant dinner that same evening probably cost him more votes.[20] Ellis Oberholtzer also noted the defection of the Prohibitionists, the lack of support from Roscoe Conkling and his followers, and the defection of the independent Republicans or Mugwumps.[21] In discussing the Burchard incident, Harrison Thomas stated that "although it probably did influence some votes, the importance of the incident can easily be overestimated because of its dramatic qualities."[22] John Garraty noted that "the Burchard Incident seems less significant than it did at the time because Blaine ran very well in the Irish-American wards of New York City and Boston."[23]

If it is not clear how significant the ill-chosen words of Burchard were in deciding the election of 1884, Blaine's personal attitude toward Catholicism is equally uncertain.

In his public life, his participation in the school funding debate in 1875–76 and his introduction of the so-called Blaine Amendment certainly had anti-Catholic overtones, but these were primarily political maneuvers.[24] The American school system had suffered seriously in the economic depression following the Panic of 1873—enrollment had declined, teachers' salaries had been reduced, and some schools were abandoned.[25] The situation was sufficiently severe to cause President Charles Eliot of Harvard, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, to urge that government cost-cutting not occur at the expense of the schools. "No retrenchment which injures the schools is true economy," he wrote.[26]

[20]Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, p. 233.

[21]Oberholtzer, *History of the United States*, p. 210.

[22]Thomas, *Return of the Democratic Party*, p. 223.

[23]Garraty, *The New Commonwealth*, p. 286.

[24]Two of the best studies of the Blaine Amendment are Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer, "The Blaine Amendment of 1875: Private Motives for Political Action," *The Catholic Historical Review*, XLII (April, 1956), 15–49; and Steven K. Green, "The Blaine Amendment Reconsidered," *The American Journal of Legal History*, XXXVI (January, 1992), 38–69.

[25]William B. Hasseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant: Politician* (New York, 1935), p. 390.

[26]Charles W. Eliot, "Wise and Unwise Economy in Schools," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXV (June, 1875), 712–20. The quotation is from p. 713.

In his lengthy annual message to Congress on December 7, 1875, after discussing foreign affairs, Treasury needs, problems in the western territories, and the overall economy, President Ulysses S. Grant turned to education, urging that "the States . . . be required to afford the opportunity of a good common-school education to every child within her limits!" but also recommending that "no sectarian tenets . . . ever be taught in any school supported in whole or in part by the State, nation, or by the proceeds of any tax levied upon the community."[27] Acting upon the president's initiative and recommendation, Blaine introduced the following joint resolution on December 14 to assure that no newly appropriated state monies would go to religious or sectarian schools:[28]

> Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives, that the following be proposed to the several States of the Union as an amendment to the Constitution:
>
> Article XVI
>
> No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor[e], nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations.

As a college graduate and former schoolteacher, Blaine had a high regard for education, but introducing this amendment was also a shrewd political move of a shrewd political leader. The heated presidential campaign of 1876 had already begun, Grant and Blaine had thrust the school issue into the middle of it, and it seemed that it could only aid the Republican Party. The issue would be unpopular in the South, since most states there probably lacked sufficient funds to provide free schools for all, but the Republican Party was not expected to carry the South in any case. Since free public schooling was popular in the North where Republicans were strongest, the issue might entice more of them to the polls, and very few would favor their tax dollars flowing to sectarian schools. Non-Catholic

[27] "Annual Message," *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, ed. John Y. Simon (Carbondale, IL, 2003), 26:416–17. Grant had presented his educational views in somewhat more detail in a speech to the Society of the Army of the Tennessee in Des Moines, Iowa, on September 30 of that year. See *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, pp. 342–44, and the *New York Times*, October 1, 1875. See also "The President's Speech at Des Moines," *The Catholic World*, XXII (January, 1876), 433–43.

[28] *Congressional Record*, 44th Congress, 1st Session, IV[1], 205, December 14, 1875.

Democrats in the North could favor free public schooling and might be induced to vote Republican. There were an estimated 250,000 schoolteachers across the country who would certainly find the proposal attractive, whatever their party. Blaine was in favor of free public schools for personal and political reasons; the only obstacle was the money question for religious schools, which explains his amendment. Both Grant and Blaine certainly realized that Catholics would be alienated by the proposal, but the issue was political and they were willing to sacrifice the smaller Catholic vote for the larger majorities they hoped the proposal would attract.[29] As a joint resolution, the proposal required a two-thirds majority in each house, and it narrowly failed in the Senate, but the debate throughout 1876 may still have swung some November votes.

Beyond his public life, Blaine interacted frequently with Catholics and Catholicism. As he mentioned in his belated repudiation of Burchard's remarks, his mother, Maria Louise Gillespie, was a staunch Roman Catholic, as were her ancestors. Her grandfather, an émigré from Catholic Ireland toward the close of the Revolutionary War, bought a piece of land in 1787 called "Indian Hill" in West Brownsville in western Pennsylvania and eventually built a stone double house on it for his children. On that piece of property that her father had inherited, Maria was married to Ephraim Blaine, a Presbyterian, in 1820, in a Catholic ceremony presided over by a Reverend C. B. Maguire from Pittsburgh. Ephraim and Maria lived in Sewickly, near Pittsburgh, for nine years. Their first child lived only one year and was buried in the local Catholic cemetery.[30] Three other children were born to them there—Neal in 1822, Ephraim in 1826, and Elizabeth in 1828.[31] Maria brought a wide network of Catholic relatives into the Blaine family orbit, and the Blaine family, including James, kept contact with many of these throughout their lives (see figure 2).

In 1821, Maria's brother, John Purcell Gillespie, married Mary Madeline Miers and moved into one wing of the stone double-house.

[29]Jean Edward Smith, *Grant* (New York, 2001), pp. 568–71; Green, "Blaine Amendment Reconsidered," pp. 47–54; Hasseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant*, pp. 390–91; and Klinkhamer, "The Blaine Amendment," pp. 19–25.

[30]Muzzey, *James G. Blaine*, p. 46; Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, pp. 53–60; and Johnson, *Life of Blaine*, pp. 23–29.

[31]An untitled Genealogical Table, and also John G. Ewing to John B. Gillespie, April 22, 1918, both in Box E 4.8, Mother M. Angela Collection, Sisters of the Holy Cross Archives, Saint Mary's, Indiana, hereafter abbreviated MAC, CSCA.

FIGURE 2. Blaine-Ewing-Gillespie-Sherman Genealogy. Chart courtesy of the author.

It was there that John and Mary's five children were born, three of whom reached adulthood—Eliza Maria in 1822, Mary Rebecca in 1828, and Neal Henry in 1831. Maria and Ephraim returned in 1829 to live in the double-house's other wing, and James Gillespie Blaine was born there in late January 1830.[32]

From 1829 to 1838, the Blaine and Gillespie families thus lived side by side on "Indian Hill." Elizabeth Blaine and Eliza Gillespie played together almost daily, often with their respective younger brothers James Blaine and Neal Gillespie in tow. Their friendship continued through the years, and when Elizabeth married in 1845, she asked Eliza to be her bridesmaid.[33]

As Blaine rose to prominence in public life, two of his Gillespie cousins attained some prominence in another area. Neal, the youngest, entered the University of Notre Dame in 1845—only three years after the school's founding—was a member of its first graduation class in 1849, was ordained a priest in the Congregation of Holy Cross that had founded the university, and served for a time as the university's vice pres-

[32]Muzzey, *James G. Blaine*, p. 6.

[33]Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, pp. 57–61; Muzzey, *James G. Blaine*, p. 6; Anna Shannon McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness* (Notre Dame, 1944), pp. 3, 37–38; "Copy of Book 1st," memoirs of a youthful companion of Mother Angela (Eliza Gillespie), Box E 4.8, MAC, CSCA; and Blaine to "My dear Sister," October 7 (between 1860 and 1868), Box 2, Folder 7, Ewing Family papers, University of Notre Dame Archives, hereafter abbreviated B.-, F.-, CEWI.

ident and director of studies (see figure 3).[34] Eliza, after teaching school for a short time in Maryland, became a Holy Cross Sister and later religious superior of the sisters at Notre Dame, supervised nursing in several Union hospitals during the Civil War, and is often considered the founder of the present Saint Mary's College near South Bend, Indiana.[35]

John and Mary's other child, Mary Rebecca, married Philemon Ewing, connecting the Gillespies and Blaines with that distinguished family. Its patriarch, Thomas Ewing, Sr., a Catholic only on his deathbed, was an early graduate of Ohio University in 1815, studied law in the offices of Philemon Beecher, served as a two-time senator from Ohio, and served as secretary of the treasury under President William Henry Harrison in 1841 and as first secretary of the interior when that department was established by President Zachary Taylor in 1849. He married Mary Boyle, a Catholic, in 1820. His children were raised Catholic, two of whom, Hugh and Charles, attained the rank of general in the Civil War.[36] In 1850, one daughter, Ellen, married William Tecumseh Sherman, the well-known Union general, and brother of John Sherman, senator from Ohio and secretary of the treasury under President Rutherford B. Hayes.[37] Thus the Blaines had close relations through marriage with the Gillespie, Ewing, and Sherman families, although Ellen and her children were the only Shermans who were Catholic.

In 1839, John Gillespie died, and his widow took her three children—Eliza, Mary, and Neal—back to Lancaster, Ohio, where she had

[34]Marvin O'Connell, *Edward Sorin* (Notre Dame, 2001), p. 332; Arthur J. Hope, C.S.C., *Notre Dame: One Hundred Years* (Notre Dame, 1943), p. 79; McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, pp. 6–133; and *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Notre Dame, 1856–57* (Chicago, 1857), p. 2.

[35]McAllister's *Flame in the Wilderness* is the only full-length biography of Sister Mary of St. Angela, who hereafter will be referred to, as she was through most of her life, as Mother Angela. She also figures prominently in other works: Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway* (New York, 1931); O'Connell, *Edward Sorin*, pp. 336–87: and Sister Mary Immaculate Creek, C.S.C., *A Panorama: 1844–1977: Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana* (Notre Dame, 1977), pp. 16–43.

[36]The most complete studies of Thomas Ewing are Paul Ingersoll Miller, "Thomas Ewing, Last of the Whigs" (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1933), and Silvia Tammisto Zsoldos, "The Political Career of Thomas Ewing, Sr.," (PhD dissertation, University of Delaware, 1977).

[37]Of the numerous studies of General Sherman, the most useful may be James M. Merrill, *William Tecumseh Sherman* (Chicago, 1971); John E. Marszalek, *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order* (New York, 1993); and Sherman's own *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (New York, 1900). The most complete study of Ellen Ewing Sherman is Anna Shannon McAllister, *Ellen Ewing: Wife of General Sherman* (New York, 1936).

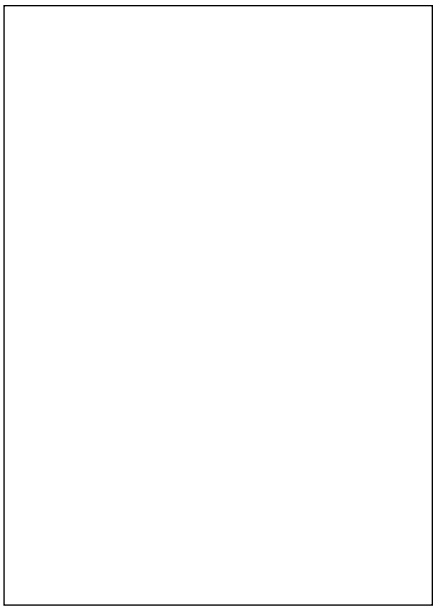

FIGURE 3. Neal Gillespie, C.S.C., ca. 1870. Photograph courtesy of the University of Notre Dame Archives. Reproduced by permission.

been raised. That was also the home of the Ewings, where both General Sherman and the nine-year-old James Blaine lived for a time. In a letter from Europe years later, Blaine recalled that happy period:[38]

> Aside from my own immediate family, my deepest love goes out to my Ewing cousins. Even if this were not so from my own impulse, and from my own heart, it would flow out naturally from the great love my dear Mother bore to all of you, and the love you bore to her.
>
> Those early days when we were all young together (in a circle of kinship that was inspired by the most unselfish love), come back to me freshly and vividly in this foreign land and blind my eyes with tears as I write. God bless you all and sustain you all.

[38]Quoted in Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, pp. 82–83; see also p. 66. See also McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, pp. 18–19 and 25–27, and her *Ellen Ewing*, pp. 21–22. Sherman himself recalled those days later: "Jim Blaine and Tom Ewing, two boys, cousins, as bright and handsome as ever were two thoroughbred colts in a blue grass pasture in Kentucky," quoted in Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, p. 78. Hugh Craig, in his *The Biography and Public Services of Hon. James G. Blaine* (New York, 1884), p. 26, dates this visit to the Ewings as 1841.

Over time, the families moved apart. Mary Gillespie remarried, and with her new husband, William Phelan, divided her time between Lancaster and the Notre Dame/Saint Mary's campuses where her children, Eliza (now Holy Cross Sister Mother Angela), and Neal were assigned (see figure 4).[39] Her third child, Mary Rebecca, and her husband, Philemon Ewing, made their home in Lancaster also. James Blaine, after his stint of teaching in Kentucky and marriage there, returned briefly to Pennsylvania, then moved to Augusta, Maine, to edit the Kennebec *Journal*. His mother moved to Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, about thirty miles from Brownsville, and the other Blaine children eventually spread out to Illinois, Montana, and Washington, D.C. Ellen and General Sherman moved frequently among army bases in California, Louisiana, Washington, and Missouri, although Ellen always hoped they would make Ohio their permanent home.[40]

As Blaine's career prospered, his Catholic relatives occasionally turned to him for favors. When an uncle seemed in danger of losing his position in a government hospital, Father Neal Gillespie wrote his mother: "Uncle requested me to ask you to write to Jimmy Blaine and induce him to use his influence to keep him in the position he has in the Marine Hospital. Many of the physicians of Detroit are doing their utmost to get him out and themselves in. . . ."[41] The doctor himself acknowledged to another nephew: "At your suggestions I wrote immediately to Speaker Blaine and General Emory with regard to my situation at the Marine Hospital. . . ."[42]

In 1881, a niece wrote to Mary Madeline to ask her to use any influence she "has with Mr. Blaine in order to procure a clerkship or any position in his power" for a relative.[43] As secretary of state, Blaine that same year had appointed one of the younger Ewings to a position in the State Department, but correspondence indicates that the position

[39]Phelan eventually made a large donation of land to Rev. Edward Sorin, C.S.C., the founder of the University of Notre Dame, on condition that the community there provide for him and his wife thereafter. See McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, pp. 122–23; O'Connell, *Edward Sorin*, pp. 343–51; Hope, *Notre Dame*, pp. 95, 110–11; and Sorin, *The Chronicles of Notre Dame du Lac* (Notre Dame, 1992), pp. 143–44, 180.

[40]McAllister, *Flame in the Wilderness*, pp. 9–23 and 45–46; Muzzey, *James G. Blaine*, pp. 17–23; and Marszalek, *Sherman*, pp. 81 and *passim*.

[41]Neal Gillespie to Mrs. Phelan, January 25, 1869, B3, F2, CEWI.

[42]John M. Bigelow to "Dear Friend" (apparently Philemon B. Ewing), April 19, 1869, B4, F9, CEWI.

[43]Cecil to Mrs. Phelan, April 26, 1881, B2, F7, and C. Basler to "My dear Cousin," May 9, 1881, B5, F1, CEWI.

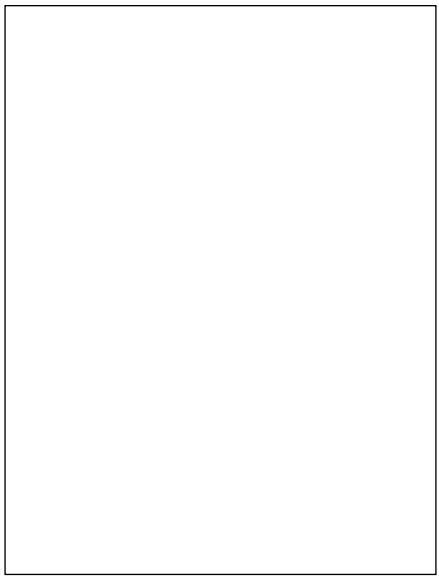

FIGURE 4. Mother Mary of St. Angela, C.S.C. (Mother Angela), photograph of a painting, n.d. Photograph courtesy of the University of Notre Dame Archives. Reproduced by permission.

was soon in jeopardy with the assassination of President Garfield and the accession of Chester Arthur.[44] About that same time, Blaine was arranging secretly and confidentially a leave of absence for a government employee acquaintance of Ellen Sherman.[45]

The families also exchanged letters of condolence and support in times of tragedy. When Garfield was shot in the summer of 1881, Ellen Sherman wrote to Harriet Blaine, James's wife: "I think of you constantly and of your anxiety about the President and as to the effect of such a continued strain upon your husband [the secretary of state]."[46]

When one of Blaine's sisters died in 1869, Mother Angela wrote to his mother:[47]

[44]T. Jay Ewing to Philemon B. Ewing (his father), October 17, 1881, and February 15, 1882, B5, F1, CEWI.

[45]James G. Blaine to "Mrs. Gen. Sherman," July 21, 1881, Reel I, Folder 771, Sherman Family Papers, University of Notre Dame Archives, hereafter abbreviated R-, F-, SFP.

[46]Mrs. William T. Sherman to Mrs. James G. Blaine, July 26, 1881, Reel 5, Container 7, Blaine Family Papers, Microfilm Edition, Library of Congress, hereafter abbreviated R-, C-, BFP.

[47]Mother Angela to Maria Blaine, August 1, 1869, R2, C3, BFP.

> I have just heard of the death of our dear Darling Maggie. May her precious soul rest in peace. As yet I am ignorant of all the details, but of this I feel assured, that her death, as her life, was that of the Just, and that her life henceforth through eternity is among the Saints in the glory of Heaven.

When Ellen Sherman died, Blaine wrote the general:[48]

> I am deeply distressed by Cousin Ellen's death. I have known her from my earliest childhood and always with affection and with profound respect. God comfort you all in the affliction!—affliction to you, her husband and children, but relief and rest and peace and Joy to her!

In 1887, Mother Angela notified Blaine of her mother's impending death: "The aunt who loves you so well may live a few days, but no hope. She sends 'My love and blessing to my beloved nephew, his dear wife and children for whom I pray.'"[49]

When informed of Mother Angela's death by a Ewing cousin, Blaine responded: "Your message is a sad one to me. Communicate my deepest sympathy to Aunt Mary [Mother Angela's mother] and to your Mother [Mother Angela's sister, Mary Rebecca]."[50]

When Blaine happened to be in the vicinity of any of his Gillespie or Ewing cousins, they occasionally visited, or at least attempted to do so. Their correspondence indicates that Thomas Ewing, Jr., was invited to tea at the Blaine residence in 1870 and paid Blaine a visit in 1874; that Blaine invited Mother Angela to visit one afternoon when she was in Washington, D.C., and, if she was too occupied, he would visit her later that day; and that another Ewing dined with Blaine on Blaine's visit to South Bend in 1890.[51]

The cousins seemed to support Blaine in his presidential bids. When he lost the nomination to Hayes in 1876, Ellen Sherman sent her "dis-

[48]James G. Blaine to Gen. William T. Sherman (no date), R15, F124, SFP. For other correspondence, see Blaine to Sherman, November 28, 1888, R15, F121, SFP; Mrs. James G. Blaine to Sherman, November 28, 1888, R15, F123, SFP; and Margaret Blaine (Blaine's daughter) to Rachel Sherman (Sherman's daughter), November 28, 1888, R15, F126, SFP.

[49]Draft to telegram, Mother Angela to James G. Blaine, (no date), Box E 4.6, MAC, CSCA.

[50]Printed in *A Tribute of Affection and Gratitude to the Memory of Mother Mary of St. Angela* (Notre Dame, 1887), p. 85.

[51]Thomas Ewing to Ellen Sherman, April 3 (1870), CSHR 9/18, SFP; Blaine to Mother Angela (no date), Box E 4.6, MAC, CSCA; Thomas Ewing to Philemon Ewing, January 26, 1874, B4, F12, CEWI, and John Ewing to Philemon Ewing, November 3, 1890, B6, F2, CEWI.

appointment" to Harriet Blaine and reminded her that "four years will soon go by."[52] When Blaine finally received the nomination in 1884, Ellen strongly supported him and hoped that Republicans in her native Ohio would get out the vote for him.[53] That June, Mother Angela playfully told General Sherman that she intended to tell Blaine that he received the nomination only because Ellen enticed her husband not to try.[54] In a letter to Father Edward Sorin, the founder of Notre Dame, she acknowledged that several acquaintances, formerly Cleveland supporters, now promised to vote for Blaine. She added: "Now by your prayers help him to become a fervent Catholic before he leaves the White House, provided he gets into it."[55] When a scandalous accusation arose that Blaine's first child had been born only ten weeks after his Pennsylvania marriage in 1851, ignoring the fact that he had been married in Kentucky twelve months earlier, Mother Angela wrote a very touching letter to Harriet Blaine:[56]

> In days long ago when we were all young, I learned that Miss Harriet Stanwood was the wife of my dear cousin. I loved you for his sake. When I formed your acquaintance I loved you for your own noble self, but when the breathe [sic] of foul slander assailed you both, then my heart went out to you with a stronger, deeper love and sympathy that I had ever in my life felt for anyone. The visions came back so vividly. Dear Cousin Jim, so young in years, so manly in heart, going out from the mother he loved so well, sharing that love with you, and you only, the early marriage, the early struggles, his brave great-hearted devotedness as son, brother, husband, father, and through all his name honored among the most noble in the land, and in every phase of his grand career, you dearest cousin, his aid, his consolation and his happiness, and now that base calumny tries to black your names.

Mother Angela's brother-in-law, Philemon Ewing, helped arrange loans for Blaine's campaign, and the funds were all repaid within six months of the election defeat.[57]

[52]Ellen Sherman to Mrs. James G. Blaine, June 17, 1876, R5, C7, BFP. See also McAllister, *Ellen Ewing*, p. 344.

[53]Ellen Sherman to Philemon Ewing, October 1884, B2, F6, CEWI.

[54]Mother Angela to Gen. William T. Sherman, June 7, 1884, R1, F797, SFP.

[55]Mother Angela to Rev. Edward Sorin, C.S.C., (no date), Box E 4.4, MAC, CSCA.

[56]Mother Angela to Mrs. James G. Blaine, September 1, 1884, R4, C5, BFP. For details of this accusation, see Albert T. Volwiler, *The Correspondence between Benjamin Harrison and James G. Blaine, 1882–1893* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 6–7, and Crapol, *Blaine: Architect of Empire*, p. 98.

[57]Henry Miller to Philemon Ewing, December 11, 1884; John Ewing to Philemon Ewing, December 12, 1884; and James G. Blaine to Philemon Ewing, February 7, 1885, all in B5, F3, CEWI.

Although Blaine always acknowledged that his mother was a devout Catholic and interacted frequently with his Catholic Ewing, Gillespie, and Sherman cousins, he rarely spoke of the religion of his siblings, his children, or his own baptism. It seems a significant lacuna.

As noted earlier, his parents' first child had been born in Pittsburgh in 1821, lived only a year, and was buried in the local Catholic cemetery, certainly implying that he had been baptized a Catholic.[58]

Blaine's oldest sister, Elizabeth, the close youthful friend of Mother Angela and later married to a Robert Walker, died a Catholic in Baltimore in 1885 and Archbishop James Gibbons presided at her funeral. Her body was then returned to Pennsylvania and buried beside those of her parents in the Catholic cemetery in Brownsville.[59]

Another sister, Margaret, had been baptized a Catholic in Brownsville, had attended Saint Mary's College for a time where Mother Angela was prominent, and died a Catholic in 1869, her pastor notifying a relative that she had been "fortified by all the great helps of our holy religion."[60]

A younger brother of Blaine, Robert, had been a student for a time at the University of Notre Dame, held various government positions throughout his life, and was buried from Saint Patrick's Catholic Church in Washington, D.C., in 1897.[61]

Another brother, John, had also been baptized in Brownsville, and when he died in Hot Springs, Arkansas, in 1887, his body was returned to Notre Dame, where his son had been a student, and he was given a Catholic burial with a Solemn High Mass presided over by Father William Corby, C.S.C., legendary chaplain of the Irish Brigade in the Civil War.[62]

[58]See n. 30.

[59]*New York Times*, March 4, 1885; Blaine gives a very favorable description of her Catholic death in Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, pp. 219–21.

[60]Baptismal Record for Margaret Isabella Blaine, January 6, 1838, St. Peter Church, Brownsville, Pennsylvania; list of entering students (1856) in the Archives of Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana; and Rev. W. L. Hayes to Mrs. Mary Phelan, July 26, 1869, B1, F7, CEWI.

[61]*Washington Post*, March 10 and 13, 1897; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Notre Dame, 1856–1857*, p. 9; and *Notre Dame Scholastic*, X (May 12, 1877), 569, and XV (March 11, 1882), 398.

[62]Baptismal Record for John Blaine, May 2, 1840, St. Peter Church, Brownsville, Pennsylvania, and *Notre Dame Scholastic*, XX (April 30, 1887), 541-42, and XX (May 14, 1887), 577.

In a letter to a nephew in 1866, Blaine's mother lamented "the want of true faith" in her sons Neal and James, and her concern for Neal continued throughout her life.[63] He had been baptized at St. Patrick's Church in Pittsburgh at five months and had apparently been raised in his mother's Catholic religion, since he confessed to a cousin in 1860, "how I have erred thru life, how I have sinned against light and knowledge, how I have departed from the early pious training of the very best of mothers."[64] His mother in 1867 feared that he may have contracted a sinful marriage, suggesting she still considered him bound by the marriage regulations of the Catholic Church.[65]

Another brother, Ephraim, apparently received the Sacrament of Confirmation, which would only be administered if he had previously been baptized a Catholic.[66]

Blaine's other two siblings, Mary and Francis, died at ages two and four and little is known of them, but the six who lived to maturity, and the eldest buried in the Catholic cemetery in Pittsburgh, all seem to have been baptized Catholic. In an 1882 letter, Blaine acknowledged that his "own loved mother and father already lie in a Catholic grave yard in Brownsville," implying that even his father had also died a Catholic.[67]

Blaine's attitude toward Catholicism can be further seen as it touched the lives of his own children. His daughter Margaret was sent to France in late 1882 to study French in a Catholic convent. When concern was expressed that she might be converted to Catholicism there, she replied in a letter to her mother: "I had seen so little possibility of that, that I had not even thought of your making objections for that reason."[68] After a few weeks, she acknowledged that her feelings had become ambivalent: "I went to the [Retreat] sermons in the mornings and the evenings, and what do you think I heard—the morning on

[63]Maria Blaine to Rev. Neal Gillespie, "13" (sic), 1866, B3, F4, CEWI.

[64]Baptismal record for Nigellas Gillespy Blaine (sic), September 23, 1823, St. Patrick's Church, Pittsburgh, Diocese of Pittsburgh Archives and Records Center, and Neal G. Blaine to Philemon B. Ewing, December 13, 1860, B1, F12, CEWI.

[65]Maria Blaine to Mrs. Mary Phelan, January 22, 1867, B1, F16, CEWI.

[66]Klinkhamer, "The Blaine Amendment," p. 31; Maria Blaine to Mrs. Mary Phelan, March 17, 1864, B1, F15, CEWI; and untitled Genealogical Table and John G. Ewing to John B. Gillespie, April 22, 1918, both in Box E 4.8, MAC, CSCA.

[67]Copy of letter of James G. Blaine to Philemon B. Ewing, October 19, 1882, B6, F1, CEWI. This seemed confirmed in a letter of Mother Angela to Blaine, undated but apparently 1884, quoted in Klinkhamer, "The Blaine Amendment," p. 31.

[68]Margaret Blaine to Mrs. James G. Blaine, November 1, 1882. R3, C4, BFP.

death, the evening on hell, the real old-fashioned hell, where one burns eternally. It was a Jesuit, and I assure you he depicted with a horror which made it rather too vivid, and produced a depressing effect," yet she was attracted to the liturgical ceremonies and admired the sisters' personal faith.[69] Apparently her father decided to withdraw her from that environment, although she was allowed to return again within a week or two. She admitted that Catholicism had its attractions and that her younger and more impressionable sister should probably be kept away, but she added that just because she found some aspects of Catholicism agreeable, "it is no sign that I acknowledge a certain individual in Rome as the representative of St. Peter, or accept his opinions as infallible, or confess my thoughts to any old priest who comes along."[70] But she added: "In fact, it did not seem to me that you would have any extraordinary objections to my going back to the religion of my grand mother if it so pleased me to do so, but your cable changes the face of affairs."[71] She happily returned to the convent and wrote her father reassuringly: "I know that, if it were not for the danger of my becoming a Catholic, danger which I think, indeed which I know is over, you would approve of the convent in every way. Any Protestant will tell you that the nuns are lovely and it was really worth while going away. They are all so nice to me now."[72]

That same year, Margaret's sister, Alice, was preparing to marry a Catholic, and Margaret expressed some surprise that "Father would go so far as to allow that."[73] Alice did become a Catholic, but lived only seven years as the wife of Col. John Coppinger and was buried from St. Matthew's Catholic Church in Washington, D.C., with Father Thomas Sherman, S.J., the son of General Sherman, presiding (see figure 5), and with the final blessing given by then-Cardinal James Gibbons. On her death, Blaine wrote to a friend: "She had with great devotion and piety connected herself with the Catholic Church, and left behind two interesting boys who, according to her wishes, shall be brought up in their mother's faith."[74]

[69]Margaret Blaine to Mrs. James G. Blaine, January 28, 1883, R4 C5, BFP.

[70]Margaret Blaine to James G. Blaine, January 30, 1883, R4, C5, BFP.

[71]*Ibid*.

[72]Margaret Blaine to James G. Blaine, February 4, 1883, R4, C5, BFP.

[73]Margaret Blaine to Mrs. James G. Blaine, February 11, 1883, R4, C5, BFP. See also *Washington Post*, September 19, 1886; *New York Times*, February 6, 1883, and February 5, 1890.

[74]James G. Blaine to Patrick Ford, September 23, 1890, quoted in Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, pp. 715–16.

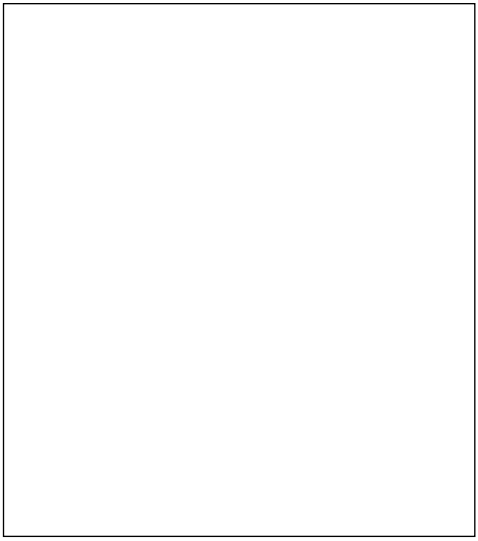

FIGURE 5. Father Thomas Sherman, S.J., chaplain during the Spanish American War, 1898. Photograph courtesy of the University of Notre Dame Archives. Reproduced by permission.

Blaine's youngest son, James, Jr. also married a Catholic, and this was a source of bitter controversy. James was not quite eighteen and had married without his parents' knowledge. Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York apparently granted a dispensation for the marriage personally since James was not a Catholic, and the marriage took place in Saint Leo's Catholic Church that same day.[75] The senior Blaine later expressed sharp criticism of the haste with which the Catholic Church permitted the marriage.[76] The controversy continued with each side publicly criticizing the other, and there were reports that Harriet Blaine attempted to keep the young couple apart and hoped to see the marriage terminated, perhaps because her daughter-in-law insisted on having their baby baptized a Catholic. The marriage eventually did end in divorce, young Blaine married a second time, and that marriage ended in divorce as well.[77]

[75]*New York Times*, September 15, 1886; *Washington Post*, September 14, 1886; *Boston Daily Globe*, September 15, 1886; Julia Walker Fisk to Mrs. Mary Phelan, September 21, 1886, B2, F19, CEWI.

[76]Blaine's letter was printed in the *New York Times*, February 9, 1892.

[77]*New York Times*, September 30, 1889; March 1, 2, 4, and 5, 1892; *Boston Daily Globe*, February 21, 1892; and *Washington Post*, October 26, 1888, and December 24, 1906.

Of Blaine's religion, respected historian David Saville Muzzey has written:[78]

> Bigoted Protestants, led by Bishop Haven of the Methodist Church, charged him with being a "crypto-Catholic," and bigoted Catholics branded him as an "apostate." The Baltimore *Catholic Mirror*, for example, in an editorial of January 29, 1876, when Blaine was the most prominent candidate for the approaching presidential nomination, declared that "Squire (Ephraim Lyon) Blaine became a convert to the religious faith of his wife and lived and died a firm believer in it"; that "all the children were raised as Catholics;" that James G. Blaine "emigrated from his family home shortly after his majority" to attend Washington College, "where his religion was not popular and he changed it . . . for the sake of politic preferment and an evanescent popularity." Every phrase of this statement is false, except the bare fact that Blaine went to Washington College.

Writing of Blaine's parents, Willis Fletcher Johnson has stated, "Each respected the conscientious convictions of the other, and to the end of their lives he was a Presbyterian, she a Catholic. By her consent, indeed by her wish, however, their children were instructed in the Presbyterian faith."[79]

In her biography of Blaine, Gail Hamilton, Blaine's cousin, describes Blaine's participation in Congregational Church services in Augusta, and the Kennebec *Journal* of that city confirmed it: "Mr. Blaine has been for nearly twenty years a consistent member of the Orthodox Congregational Church in this city, the city of his home. Orthodox Congregationalism in Maine is precisely the same creed as Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania."[80]

Blaine himself always insisted that he was a Protestant and a Presbyterian. His most quoted statement on the subject of religion is the one he issued in 1876:[81]

> My ancestors on my father's side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any public declaration upon the subject, and for two reasons: first, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office

[78]Muzzey, *James G. Blaine*, pp. 5–6.

[79]Johnson, *Life of Blaine*, p. 28.

[80]Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, pp. 119–20, and Henry Davenport Northrop, *Life and Public Services of Hon. James G. Blaine* (Philadelphia, 1893), pp. 21–22.

[81]Northrop, *Life and Public Services*, p. 21.

> in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen; and second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowel [sic] of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect, any political support from them.

In his response three days after the Burchard incident, Blaine had stated that he was "Protestant by conviction myself, and connected with a Protestant church."[82] Surprisingly, Blaine apparently never mentions the time or place of his baptism, evidence that would have settled the issue once and for all.

Evidence available today paints a more complicated but perhaps clearer picture of Blaine's religious background. He was certainly familiar with Catholicism: he witnessed his mother's devoted practice of Catholicism and probably his siblings' as well, and most of his maternal kin was Catholic, with whom his relations were cordial if infrequent. He always insisted that he was not a Catholic and apparently opposed any of his minor children becoming Catholic. He did not object to his daughter Alice becoming a Catholic through her marriage and, at her death, stated that her two young sons would be raised Catholic as she wished. He certainly did not approve of his son James's wedding to the Catholic Marie Nevins but that may have been primarily because of James's youth and the haste with which the marriage had taken place.

Although Blaine always insisted that he was a Protestant and lived as a member of a Protestant church, the evidence suggests that he was probably baptized a Catholic. Many early baptismal records have not been preserved, but it seems that his siblings were all baptized Catholics: they were married in a Catholic ceremony or buried in a Catholic cemetery, with Neal as the aberration, as he apparently departed from his mother's training. It would be strange if James, a middle child, were the only one not baptized a Catholic. When Blaine lay dying in 1893, Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore was called to his side, perhaps to offer the Church's Last Sacraments and reconciliation. Blaine was grateful but declined.[83] The cardinal may have presumed that Blaine had been baptized a Catholic and was thus eligible for the Church's Last Rites. Blaine's cousin, Mother Angela, certainly considered him a baptized Catholic. In a letter to Blaine apparently after his 1884

[82]Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley*, p. 228.

[83]Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, p. 721, and John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (Milwaukee, 1952), 11:503.

defeat, she stated: "In His Church He gives all that is needed for time, for preparation for eternity. Thank God it is the Church of your Baptism."[84] She later wrote of Blaine: "His father permitted all his children to be baptized in infancy, selected non-Catholic schools for his boys' education because he thought them best, and said, 'when they are old enough let these boys select their own religion.'"[85]

Blaine's situation may have been similar to that of his cousin by marriage, General Sherman. After his father's early death, Sherman was raised in the Catholic Ewing family and, according to his wife, he was baptized, with his mother's approval, by Father Dominic Young on one of his periodic missionary visits to Lancaster and to the Ewing home.[86] Sherman never practiced Catholicism and never considered himself Catholic, but his children were raised Catholic, and one of them, Thomas, became a Jesuit priest and arrived from England in time to give his father a Catholic burial.[87]

Blaine certainly never practiced the Catholic religion; he attended Protestant churches throughout his life, and he could honestly insist, like Sherman, that he was not a Catholic. He also was a shrewd and practical politician. Had knowledge of a Catholic baptism ever become public, any chance of a presidential nomination or election would have vanished. Catholics, from his cousins to Cardinal Gibbons, might consider him a Catholic since that was almost certainly the religion of his baptism, but Blaine could insist that he was not, that he was a respected and practicing Protestant all his life, and thus remain viable in every presidential election.

[84]Mother Angela to James G. Blaine, quoted in Klinkhamer, "The Blaine Amendment," p. 31.

[85]Mother Angela to Rev. Louis A. Lambert, quoted in Klinkhamer, "The Blaine Amendment," p. 31. Also Hugh Craig, *Biography and Public Services*, p. 15, affirms of Blaine's mother: "Her children were all baptized in the Catholic Church."

[86]"Recollections for my children," by Ellen Ewing Sherman, CSHR 4/65, SFP; Jack J. Detzler, "The Religion of William Tecumseh Sherman," *Ohio History*, LXXV (Winter, 1966), 28; McAllister, *Ellen Ewing*, pp. 9–10; Lloyd Lewis, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet* (New York, 1932), p. 34; Merrill, *William Tecumseh Sherman*, p. 20; and Marszalek, *Sherman*, pp. 9–10. For Fr. Nicholas Dominic Young, Dominican priest and missionary throughout Ohio and Kentucky in the early nineteenth century, see Victor O'Daniel, O.P., *The Dominican Province of Saint Joseph* (Somerset, OH, 1942), pp. 95–97; Anthony Lisska, "Rev. Nicholas Dominic Young, O.P., Early Dominican Missionary in Ohio," *Barquilla de la Santa Maria: Bulletin of the Catholic Record Society–Diocese of Columbus*, XIII (December, 1988), 95–101; and John Vidmar, O.P., *Fr. Fenwick's "Little American Province"* (Providence, 2005), pp. 1–30.

[87]Marszalek, *Sherman*, pp. 492–98, and Lewis, *Fighting Prophet*, pp. 651–53.

ARCHBISHOP ARTURO RIVERA DAMAS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN EL SALVADOR

BY

EDWARD T. BRETT*

Many religious progressives use the word disappointing *when evaluating Archbishop Arturo Rivera Damas's leadership of the Archdiocese of San Salvador from 1980 to 1994. As the only Salvadoran bishop to support Archbishop Oscar Romero (1977–80) in the latter's attempt to be the "voice of the voiceless," Rivera was expected to follow in his charismatic predecessor's footsteps.*

This study attempts to demonstrate that although Romero's "prophetic" approach was a highly effective method of leadership during his three-year tenure of office, his assassination changed the climate dramatically, requiring a different approach from Rivera. Rejecting the "prophetic" method of Romero, he pursued a low-key, "pragmatic" path in his attempt to end the Salvadoran civil war and bring justice to the poor masses. Throughout the 1980s, Rivera labored to create peace negotiations between the Salvadoran power structure and the FMLN-FDR opposition. Previously, as an auxiliary bishop, he was the driving force behind the efforts of Archbishop Luis Chávez to incorporate the social justice concepts of Vatican II and the Latin American Bishops' Conference at Medellín into Salvadoran society. Thus, he alone among the Salvadoran prelates played an important role in the institutional church's fight for justice in El Salvador between the 1960s and the 1990s.

Bishop Rivera and Archbishop Chávez

On November 26, 1994, Arturo Rivera Damas, the seventy-one-year-old archbishop of San Salvador, died following a second massive heart attack. Recognized by many North Americans as a close friend and supporter of Archbishop Oscar Romero and as his episcopal successor,

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Rivera was, in truth, a far more complex protagonist who for three decades played a major role in his country's history, both as an advocate of social justice and an indefatigable peacemaker. For this reason, his life and accomplishments deserve to be better known.[1]

Rivera was born on September 30, 1923, in the small town of San Esteban Catarina, in central El Salvador's department of San Vicente. He was ordained a Salesian priest on September 19, 1953, just before his thirtieth birthday. After receiving his doctorate in canon law from the Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano in Turin, Italy, he was consecrated auxiliary bishop of San Salvador on October 23, 1960, less than eight years after his ordination. Profoundly moved by *aggiornamento* when he attended the Second Vatican Council (1962–65), he was also present at the 1968 Latin American Bishops' Conference at Medellín, Colombia, where he and his episcopal colleagues attempted to apply the principles of Vatican II to the Latin American situation by announcing their now famous resolution to commit their Church without reservation to the liberation of the poor and oppressed.

Rivera's dedication to the progressive pronouncements of Vatican II and Medellín was shared by his immediate superior, Archbishop Luis Chávez y González, and the two soon joined forces to create an impressive reform program.[2] They received little support, however, from the other Salvadoran bishops: Pedro Aparicio y Quintanilla of San Vincente, José Alvarez Ramirez of San Miguel, Benjamin Barrera y Reyes of Santa Ana, and Francisco José Castro y Ramirez of Santiago de María, and after the latter's death in 1974, his successor, Oscar Romero Galdamez. They were also opposed by the wealthy elite class, which tightly controlled every facet of Salvadoran life and equated their policies with communism. Indeed, according to political scientist Tommie Sue Montgomery, the oligarchy especially directed its wrath at Rivera. When Chávez began issuing progressive pastoral letters, some of its leaders accused the auxiliary bishop of ghost writing them and attributed the archbishop's shift to the left to Rivera.[3]

[1]The first few pages of this article were published in an abbreviated form and without footnotes following Rivera's death: see Edward T. Brett, "Arturo Rivera Damas: Another Salvadoran Hero," *America* (March 11, 1995), 13–16.

[2]For a brief study of Archbishop Chávez y González, see Rosa Carmelita Samos Stibbs, *Sobre el Magisterio de Mons. Luis Chávez y González: Estudio teologico de sus Cartas pastorales* (Guatemala City, 1986), esp. pp. 99–119.

[3]Tommie Sue Montgomery, "The Church in the Salvadoran Revolution," *Latin American Perspectives* (1982), 62–87, here 76.

Chávez and Rivera realized that an activist clergy was essential if their reforms were to bear fruit. Thus, they worked cooperatively with the Jesuit faculty of the country's major seminary, San José de la Montaña, in revolutionizing priestly training. Seminary instruction was no longer to be limited to classroom lectures in theology. Henceforth, all seminarians were required to minister to the poor in shantytowns and learn firsthand about the hardships of poverty. When they returned to the classroom, they were expected to discuss their barrio experiences with their teachers and fellow students in light of the Scriptures and Catholic social teachings. Moreover, they were permitted to leave the seminary grounds to take philosophy courses at the Central American University. Such innovations scandalized the more conservative Salvadoran bishops, who finally terminated the new agenda in 1972, when they voted to oust the Jesuits from the seminary, even though the order had run the institution since 1915.[4] Nevertheless, the innovative program had been operative long enough to create a significant number of young native clergy committed to future reform.

One of the most dramatic events in Rivera's commitment to social justice resulted from the January 1970 kidnapping of Father José Inocencio Alas, a pastor in Suchitoto known for his work with the rural poor in their struggle for land reform. Archbishop Chávez had called on Alas to address the National Assembly on the peasants' need for land. A few hours after his presentation, the fiery priest was kidnapped. Rivera then drove with Monseñor Ricardo Urioste to the office of Defense Minister Fidel Torres. When Torres insisted that the security forces knew nothing about Alas's abduction, the two clergymen refused to leave the building. They vowed to continue their "sit-in" until Alas was freed. Throughout the incident, the archdiocesan radio station YSAX provided constant updates on the situation. Finally, Rivera and Urioste ended their protest when Alas was released and found naked and badly beaten. According to Montgomery, the Rivera-Urioste protest "was very likely the first such confrontation in Salvadoran history";[5] it also possibly saved Alas's life.

[4]Minutes of *Conferencia Episcopal de El Salvador*, February 5, 1973. Cited by James R. Brockman, *Romero: A Life* (Maryknoll, 1989), pp. 51–52.

[5]Author's interview with Monseñor Ricardo Urioste, San Salvador, April 29, 2008. Tommie Sue Montgomery, "The Church in the Salvadoran Revolution," 65. See also Montgomery, *Revolution in El Salvador: From Civil Strife to Civil Peace* (Boulder, 1995), pp. 81–82. Montgomery bases her account on interviews with Rivera, Urioste, and Alas.

Father Nicolas Rodríguez of Chalatenango was not so fortunate. On November 28, 1970, he became the first Salvadoran priest to be murdered by rightist forces. The outraged Rivera took the lead in condemning the atrocity, calling it "a political crime aimed at intimidating the entire clergy" so that it would abandon its progressive ministry.[6]

In June 1970 Romero was appointed auxiliary bishop of San Salvador. The archdiocese now had two auxiliaries, Rivera the progressive and Romero the conservative, and tensions between the two developed immediately.

The first clash came just after Romero's episcopal consecration, when, beginning on June 22, the archdiocese hosted a National Pastoral Week that was attended by the three archdiocesan bishops, along with 123 priests, religious, and lay leaders. Organized by Rivera, the event was designed to better incorporate Medellín concepts into pastoral ministry. Participants criticized traditional pastoral methods and discussed such matters as the democratization of church structures, the formation of Christian base communities (CEBs), the training of delegates of the word and lay catechists, and the development of methods aimed at combating unjust structures. Although Rivera and Chávez were enthusiastic about the conference's accomplishments, Romero joined nonparticipating bishops Pedro Aparicio y Quintanilla of San Vicente and José Alvarez Ramirez of San Miguel in criticizing it as too radical. They further demanded that its conclusions be drastically modified before publication. Since the conservative bishops outnumbered the progressives, the former won out and the pastoral week's conclusions were toned down. Nevertheless, as political scientist Jorge Caceres Prendes notes, the National Pastoral Week "marked the appearance of a new model for the Church,"[7] a model that met the needs of the Pastoral Reflection Group—composed of forty mostly diocesan, progressive priests—that had been created in late 1969 in anticipation of the National Pastoral Week.

[6]*Estudios Centroamericanos (ECA)*, (October–November, 1977), 8; Jorge Caceres Prendes, "Political Radicalization and Popular Pastoral Practices in El Salvador, 1969–1985," in *The Progressive Church in Latin America*, ed. Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde (Notre Dame, 1989), p. 113.

[7]Letter from Msgr. Ricardo Urioste to author, May 20, 2008. Caceres Prendes, "Political Radicalization," p. 112; see also Phillip Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christians in Central American Revolutions* (Maryknoll, 1984), pp. 104–06; and Brockman, *Romero*, pp. 44–46. Brockman's discussion of the pastoral week is based on his interviews with Bishop Rivera and Father (later Bishop) Gregorio Rosa Chávez.

On May 27, 1973, Romero caused Chávez and Rivera public embarrassment when he attacked the Jesuit high school, Externado San José, in an editorial in the archdiocesan newspaper *Orientación*.[8] With the support and cooperation of Rivera and Chávez, the prestigious boarding school had introduced post-Medellín reforms into its curriculum. Romero, however, accused the Jesuit faculty in his editorial of using Marxist literature and "false liberating education" through such methods as requiring sociology classes to take field trips to the barrios of the poor. Romero's editorial was manna from heaven for the conservative secular media. Newspapers, as well as television and radio programs, accused the Jesuits of teaching Marxism to high school students, citing and reprinting Romero's editorial as proof.[9] The Salvadoran attorney general launched an investigation of the school, causing Chávez to do the same and to exonerate the Jesuits. Rivera attempted to defend the Jesuits in an interview in *El Diario de Hoy,* but the damage was already done.[10] Romero's intemperate words caused a furor among members of the wealthy class and lent credibility to their false charge that Rivera and the Jesuits had duped Chávez and were turning the church in a Marxist direction.[11]

Friction may have decreased somewhat when Romero became bishop of Santiago de María in December 1974, but it reappeared in October 1975, when, as a consultant for a Pontifical Commission on Latin America, he criticized the Salvadoran church for its radicalism before Roman authorities at the Vatican. According to Romero, the Jesuits of San Salvador were a "national scandal" and had a Marxist orientation; *Justicia y Paz*, the publication of the Inter-Diocesan Social Secretariat, continuously criticized the government and capitalists; and the church-sponsored rural development centers were unduly radicalizing peasants.[12] Since Rivera was a staunch advocate of all that Romero condemned, the latter's harsh words must certainly have damaged Rivera's credibility with Vatican officials. The fact that Romero's critique was preceded by countless similar complaints sent to Rome by the papal nuncio, government officials, and all but one of the country's bishops did not help Rivera's cause.

[8]*Orientación,* May 27, 1973.

[9]*El Mundo*, June 25, 1973; *La Prensa Gráfica*, June 25, 1973.

[10]*El Diario de Hoy*, June 28, 1973.

[11]Letter from Urioste to author, May 20, 2008. See Brockman, *Romero*, pp. 48–49 for a more extensive account based on his interviews with the involved Jesuits.

[12]Brockman, *Romero*, pp. 56–57.

In light of the steady stream of complaints against Rivera and the Jesuits he supported, it is not surprising that when Chávez decided to retire as archbishop and recommended that Rivera succeed him, the Vatican ignored the request and instead, on February 3, 1977, chose Romero. Lest the point be lost, a month before the installation of the new archbishop, Rivera, who was in Rome, was bluntly told by a cardinal involved in the selection process that he was passed over because of his inability to be nonconfrontational when dealing with the government.[13]

The relationship between Rivera and Romero in the years prior to the latter's installation as archbishop of San Salvador is summed up well by James Brockman, the biographer of Romero: "The two did not get along." Romero felt that Rivera was "infected with dangerous ideas" and "unduly critical of authority," while Rivera thought "Romero never trusted" him.[14]

Bishop Rivera and Archbishop Romero

The story of Archbishop Romero is well known and need not be repeated here in detail. In his three years as bishop of Santiago de María, he started to realize that widespread social oppression existed in El Salvador. He began to chide the coffee oligarchy in his column in *El Apóstil*, the diocesan weekly, for failing to pay just wages to workers. He also allowed seasonal coffee laborers to use church buildings for shelter and provided them with food. When government authorities expelled foreign priests from the diocese, he publicly denounced their action.[15] A pivotal step in his transformation occurred, however, in March 1977, shortly after his installation as archbishop, when he traveled to Aguilares to celebrate the funeral Mass of his longtime friend, the Jesuit Rutilio Grande, who had been working with poor sugar cane workers since September 1972. Grande's Jesuit team had set up CEBs in Aguilares and backed peas-

[13]Urioste states that Rivera told him that when he was in Rome, Vatican officials informed him that "they needed an archbishop less critical of the government than he was." Letter from Urioste to author, May 20, 2008. Montgomery, *Revolution in El Salvador*, p. 93. Brockman, *Romero,* p. 127.

[14]Brockman, *Romero*, p. 49.

[15]Zacarías Diez and Juan Macho, *"En Santiago de María me topé con la miseria": dos años en la vida de Mons. Romero (1975–1976)* (San José, 1994), pp. 67–81, 182–89, and Andrew J. Stein, "El Salvador," in *Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America: The Challenge of Religious Pluralism,* ed. Paul E. Sigmund (Maryknoll, 1999), pp. 117–18.

ants who were striking against the local sugar refinery. Chávez and Rivera had supported the team.[16] Romero, however, had felt that the Jesuits were too political and were fanning the flames of discord and had said so in Rome when he served as a consultant for the Pontifical Commission on Latin America.[17]

Informed that Father Grande had been assassinated along with an old man and young boy from the area, Romero went out to the countryside. He viewed the bloodied bodies and saw the grief of the peasants. This moving experience ended the new archbishop's "process of growth." From that time until his death, he would never again hesitate in his commitment to the oppressed masses of El Salvador.[18] Soon he was being called the champion of the poor and the "voice of the voiceless." But the institutional Church would pay dearly for his prophetic leadership. During his three-year tenure as archbishop, five diocesan priests, in addition to Grande, would be murdered.[19] Large numbers of foreign priests would be expelled from the country, and others, who had left, would be refused reentry. Clergy would be kidnapped, tortured, beaten, or imprisoned. Scores would receive death threats. Romero's fellow Salvadoran bishops and Emanuele Gerada, the papal nuncio, would blame the outspokenness of the archbishop for the church's suffering and turn against him with the same intensity they had previously reserved for Rivera and the Jesuits. Until his assassination on March 24, 1980, Romero had only one supporter among the Salvadoran hierarchy, the bishop that he had criticized so often: Rivera.

On the Sunday following Grande's death, Romero, with the support of nearly all his priests and religious, decided to cancel all Masses throughout the archdiocese, except the one he would say at the cathedral. This action was meant to cause his countrymen to reflect on the tragic murders that had just taken place and on the violence that was

[16]Berryman, *Religious Roots*, pp. 115, 119.

[17]Brockman, *Romero*, p. 57.

[18]Salvador Carranza, "Aguilares, Una experiencia de evangelización rural parróquial," *Estudios Centroamericanos (ECA)*, (October–November, 1977), 832–62; Rodolfo Cardenal, *Historia de una esperanza: Vida de Rutilio Grande* (San Salvador, 1985; William J. O'Malley, *The Voice of Blood: Five Christian Martyrs of Our Time* (Maryknoll, 1980), pp. 1–63.

[19]Fathers Alfonso Navarro (May 11, 1977), Ernesto Barrera (November 28, 1978), Octavio Ortiz (January 20, 1979), Rafael Palacios (June 20, 1979), and Alirio Napoleón Macías (August, 1979). For further details, see Anna L. Peterson, *Martyrdom and the Politics of Religion: Progressive Catholicism in El Salvador's Civil War* (Albany, 1997), pp. 63–65.

spreading through the nation. The nuncio opposed Romero's decision, however, and had his secretary inform the archbishop that such a move was contrary to canon law. Romero next turned to Rivera, who declared that the cancellation was valid. Since Rivera was a canon lawyer, his expertise on this matter went far in justifying Romero's decision to proceed with the cancellations of all but the cathedral Mass, despite the nuncio's opposition.[20]

In late 1977, following a storm of complaints concerning the conduct of Romero and Rivera from the other Salvadoran bishops and the papal nuncio, Archbishop Gerada, the Vatican transferred Rivera from San Salvador, naming him bishop of Santiago de María in Usulután. Then, in early 1978, Rome appointed Marco Revelo Contreras archdiocesan auxiliary, with the suggestion, says Brockman, that he "rein in [Romero]."[21] With the conservative Revelo replacing the progressive Rivera as archdiocesan auxiliary, the anti-Romero prelates were now in a stronger position to attempt to minimize Romero's influence.

Rivera's transfer, however, did not impede his ability to support Romero and the post-Medellín reform movement. In some ways, it even enhanced it. In June 1978, the archbishop received a letter from Cardinal Sebastiano Baggio, prefect of the Sacred Congregation for Bishops, asking him to come to the Vatican to discuss his conduct. Realizing the gravity of his situation, Romero brought Rivera and Monseñor Urioste with him. When Baggio chided Romero for his aggressive confrontational behavior and informed him that the other Salvadoran bishops had asked that he be removed from his see, the archbishop pointed out that he was not standing alone against the bishops' conference, since Rivera supported him. Meanwhile, Rivera met with Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, the Vatican secretary of state, and others, speaking in defense of Romero.[22] Throughout the rest of his episcopal tenure, whenever Romero was informed of new charges against him by church or state officials, he would meet with Rivera to develop a defense strategy.

On August 16, 1978, shortly after Romero and Rivera's return from Rome, the bishops' conference met with the support of the nuncio to

[20]Cardenal, *Historia de una esperanza,* pp. 585–90; and Brockman, *Romero*, p. 17.

[21]Brockman, *Romero*, p. 129. Bishop Revelo had harshly criticized Romero and Rivera at a bishops' synod in Rome in October 1977.

[22]Author's interview with Monseñor Ricardo Urioste, San Salvador, April 29, 2008. Brockman, *Romero,* pp. 126–33.

discuss issuing a statement concerning popular organizations and more specifically, the two major peasant organizations, FECCAS (Christian Federation of Salvadoran Peasants) and UTC (Farm Workers' Union). Romero and Rivera had been working for several months, with the help of scholars at the Central American University, on a pastoral letter on the relationship of the church to the popular organizations. Some priests had been encouraging peasants to become members of these groups, and many CEB leaders had done so. Other priests, however, felt that the church should publicly declare at least some of these organizations anathema and forbid Catholic participation. The Romero-Rivera letter was intended to clear up any confusion by giving Church approval to the popular groups as well as specifying the groups' proper relationship to the Church. All members of the bishops' conference were invited to sign the letter, but the four conservatives refused. Instead, they decided to convene the August 16 meeting where they voted over the objections of Romero and Rivera to issue a joint statement in the name of the bishops' conference that condemned the peasant unions. Bishop Aparicio was then chosen to draft the statement.

Romero and Rivera, however, refused to accept defeat. Two days before the new pastoral letter was to be issued, they issued their own letter, "The Church and the Popular Political Organizations," along with discussion questions that were to be used by lay study groups throughout the country. It was Romero's third pastoral letter and Rivera's first. In it, they emphatically stated that the poor had the right to form their own political organizations and the church had a responsibility to encourage and support them in their quest for justice. Quoting the Second Vatican Council, they declared that the popular organizations were "authentic signs of God's presence and purpose." The pastoral next cited the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*; the Medellín Conference; and even article 160 of the Salvadoran Constitution to support the rights of the people to form trade unions, rural organizations, and political parties, even if they voice dissent from the government. The pastoral letter, without mentioning FECCAS and UTC specifically, noted that peasant unions had a right to participate in regulating the economic, social, political, and cultural life of the nation. It then addressed the question of the relationship among the Christian base communities, the Church, and secular popular organizations. The Church, stated Romero and Rivera, had a right to help organize CEBs and to raise the consciousness of their members so that some might

realize they have political vocations and consequently join popular organizations. The Church should support and encourage the popular groups, noted Romero and Rivera, but it must not play a specific role in their activities. Faith and politics should be united in a Christian who has a political vocation. But faith must only inspire political action; it can never be specifically identified with it.

The four conservative bishops followed the Romero-Rivera pastoral letter with their own much shorter one in which they condemned the peasants' unions and accused them of Marxism, but their letter was too little, too late. The conservatives had attempted to co-opt Romero and Rivera, but instead, Romero and Rivera had co-opted them.[23]

Apostolic Administrator Rivera

Following Romero's assassination, on April 11, 1980, Rivera was named apostolic administrator of San Salvador by Rome. He would remain in this interim status for three years, a time when supporters and enemies alike knew that the Vatican was closely monitoring him. During this period he tried to be evenhanded in his dealings with both sides in the civil war, evidently reasoning that such an approach might eventually lead to a dialogue aimed at ending armed conflict. For those progressives who expected him to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, however, his leadership was disappointing and sometimes even exasperating. He irritated them by condemning in an evenhanded way the violence perpetrated by both the government and the FMLN (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional) guerrilla forces, when the former was responsible for over 85 percent of all atrocities. He demonstrated special affinity for José Napoleón Duarte and the Christian Democrats (PDC) while showing little empathy for the popular organizations and the FDR (Frente Democrático Revolucionario).[24] Indeed, when in early 1982, the Salvadoran government announced its intention to hold an election for a Constituent Assembly that would choose a provisional president and draw up a new constitution, Rivera, together with his fellow bishops, lauded the move, thereby granting it

[23]See *La voz de los sin voz: La palabra viva de Monseñor Oscar Arnulfo Romero* (San Salvador, 1980). See also *ECA* (September, 1978), 774–75 for the letter of the bishops' conference.

[24]The FDR was founded in April 1980 by several dissident PDC members who had resigned from the Salvadoran government in protest of its unwillingness or inability to curb military and paramilitary violence. Allied with the FMLN, it acted throughout the 1980s as a sort of legal arm on the revolutionary front.

"legitimacy." Critics claimed that the election was meant to create a façade for the Reagan administration, which was embarrassed by the violence perpetrated by Salvadoran security forces and thereby put in a difficult position in its attempt to get congressional and popular support and massive military aid for its Salvadoran policy. Rivera disappointed these critics further when, commenting on the large election turnout, he declared the election a "vote in favor of peace, democracy, and justice."[25]

Like Romero, Rivera continued to list and condemn in his Sunday homilies military and paramilitary atrocities. He also spoke out against U.S. aid to the Salvadoran military and influenced the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops to do likewise,[26] but he annoyed the left by always coupling this with a condemnation of Cuban and Nicaraguan arms supplies to the guerrillas. When the FMLN launched its first major offensive in January 1981, he criticized it in no uncertain terms, charging that it was not supported by the Salvadoran people and did not fit the church's criteria for a just war.[27]

On the other hand, in 1982, when Bishop Pedro Aparicio denounced thirty priests who he claimed had joined the guerrillas,[28] Rivera defended the clerics. People in FMLN-controlled regions need pastoral care, he argued, adding that rebel forces have just as much a right to chaplains as do government security forces.[29]

When in September 1981 the episcopal conference criticized an August declaration by Mexico and France that recognized the FMLN as a "representative political force," Rivera dissented. The other bishops accused Mexico and France of interfering in El Salvador's internal affairs, adding that the FMLN lacked legitimacy in that it was a terrorist organization bent on imposing a communist dictatorship on the Salvadoran people against their will. Rivera, however, reasoned that the declaration was made to help create a condition suitable for dialogue

[25]Christopher Dickey, "Salvadoran Prelate Warns of Return to Violence," *Washington Post*, April 5, 1982, A27; Hugh Boyle, *El Salvador's Civil War: A Study of Revolution* (Boulder, 1996), p. 91.

[26]U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), "Statement on Central America," November 19, 1981.

[27]Phillip Berryman, *Stubborn Hope: Religion, Politics, and Revolution in Central America* (Maryknoll, 1994), p. 68.

[28]*Centro Regional de Información Ecuménica (CRIE)*, no. 109 (October 19, 1982).

[29]Berryman, *Stubborn Hope*, p. 72.

between the government and guerrillas and therefore the bishops had no reason to "rend [their] garments."[30]

Indeed, throughout his three years as apostolic administrator and after, Rivera's primary focus was on the creation of a dialogue between governmental and guerrilla forces. Inspired by his efforts, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops in November 1981 issued a "Statement on Central America," noting emphatically: "we endorse and support Bishop Rivera y Damas' call for a broad-based political solution in El Salvador." It then called on the U.S. government to do likewise.[31]

Rivera had his first success at home, albeit a modest one, when in July 1982, the episcopal conference finally went on record in favor of peace talks. This was followed in August by Pope John Paul II's letter to the Salvadoran bishops exhorting them to make reconciliation through dialogue a top priority.[32] Up until this time, Bishop Aparicio spoke for the majority of the bishops when he contended that it was impossible to hold dialogue with murderers like the guerrillas,[33] but now episcopal opposition to peace talks was certainly subdued as a result of this new Vatican pressure. For its part, the FMLN-FDR responded positively to the conference's call, delivering to the Salvadoran government through Rivera its first proposal for dialogue.[34] Even though the government rejected the proposal, equating such talks with high treason, it was nevertheless a significant breakthrough, a first step that would eventually bear fruit many years later.

Rivera's progressive critics were at least partially correct in their assertion that he had downplayed Romero's prophetic cry for justice for the poor, while preferring instead to emphasize a more conciliatory policy toward the Salvadoran elite. Some attributed this to his ties to the conservative Salesian religious congregation or his predilection for the PDC, and still others to a possible fear of assassination. But in truth, Rivera's less aggressive actions during his tenure as interim head of the church in San Salvador were no doubt dictated at least in part by the changed circumstances in which he found himself and his

[30]*El Día* (Mexico), August 29, 1981; *El Día*, September 6, 1981; *Uno Más Uno* (Mexico), September 7, 1981; *Estudios Centroamericanos (ECA)*, (September, 1981), 919–20.

[31]USCCB, "Statement on Central America," November, 1981.

[32]*Uno Más Uno,* July 19, 1981*; CRIE*, no. 105, August 17, 1982.

[33]Caceres, "Political Radicalization," n. 70, p. 147.

[34]*ECA,* no. 409 (November, 1982), 1049–50.

archdiocese. Rivera was in no position to fully follow the prophetic role of his predecessor. If he were to have any success in the struggle for justice in his nation, he would have to follow a somewhat different path. There are several factors that, when taken into consideration, make this apparent. First, by refusing to make him archbishop but instead naming him to the temporary position of apostolic administrator, the Vatican had made it clear that it would not approve another outspoken archbishop like Romero. If he pursued the policies of his predecessor, another bishop would be chosen as archbishop and most probably that prelate would be a conservative who was more favorable to the oligarchy.

Second, unlike Romero, who had the episcopal backing of Rivera, Rivera had little support from his fellow bishops until the appointment of Gregorio Rosa Chávez as auxiliary in February 1982. Indeed, throughout his tenure as apostolic administrator, the episcopal conference attempted to marginalize Rivera and dictate the direction of Church policy on its own, dealing directly with the Vatican through a papal nuncio who had little sympathy for Romero-like churchmen.

Third, the Salvadoran church could not afford to lose any more of its clergy. Seven priests had been killed before Romero's death, and in the next nine months alone, four priests, one deacon, and four U.S. churchwomen were murdered by Salvadoran military or paramilitary forces.[35] Scores of lay catechists were also killed. Furthermore, about forty priests were expelled from the country, while many others left on their own accord, fearing death if they remained. By early 1982, the number of priests and religious in the archdiocese had been reduced by 35 percent, and 40 percent of the rural parishes had no resident priest.[36] If the Church was to be effective in ministering to the poor, it simply could not afford to keep losing priests and religious to assassination, arrest, and exile, and Rivera reasoned that a less confrontational approach on his part might prevent further attrition.

Finally, Ronald Reagan had replaced Jimmy Carter as U.S. president in 1981, and unlike his predecessor, he was an indefatigable supporter of the Salvadoran government and military. To speak out as the "voice

[35]Father Cosme Spezzotto (June 14, 1980); seminarian José Othmaro Caceres (July 25); Fathers Manuel Reyes Monico (October 6), Ernesto Abrego (November 23), and Marcial Serrano (November 28); and Sisters Ita Ford, Maura Clarke, and Dorothy Kazel, as well as lay missionary Jean Donovan (all on December 2).

[36]Caceres, "Political Radicalization," pp. 133–34; Berryman, *Stubborn Hope*, p. 71.

of the voiceless" as Romero had done would not have mitigated Reagan's callousness to human rights abuses in El Salvador nor his commitment to the government and military.

Archbishop Rivera

Rivera's discreet approach during his interim period as apostolic administrator proved at least in one sense to have been wise policy, for on February 28, 1983, Pope John Paul II, just before his March trip to Central America, finally named the sixty-year-old Rivera archbishop of San Salvador. Moreover, the pope in his one-day stay in El Salvador made it clear to all that Rivera's policies now had the full support of Rome. Just after his arrival, John Paul II proceeded directly to the cathedral where he prayed before Romero's tomb for several minutes. This was no doubt a carefully calculated gesture meant to inform all Salvadoran factions that Romero was not considered *persona non grata* at the Vatican. Later, as if to emphasize the point, the pontiff praised the pastoral work of the martyred archbishop as well as his defense of human rights at an outdoor Mass attended by 30,000 Salvadorans, including government and military officials, members of the oligarchy, U.S. embassy personnel, and church leaders. He then spoke at length on the need to establish a peace dialogue, a point that Rivera had been making for three years. Montgomery remarks that the pope's visit "resurrected Romero" and marked the end of a period of caution for the Church that had begun with the martyred archbishop's death.[37] It also resurrected Rivera, for the pontiff's conduct clearly placed Rome behind the moderate wing of the progressive faction of the church and certainly strengthened Rivera's authority *vis à vis* that of the conservative bishops' conference.

Armed with his new title of archbishop, Rivera could now be more aggressive and outspoken in pursuing his religious and political agenda. He did so in two important ways. First, he created Tutela Legal (Legal Defense), the archdiocesan legal aid office. Second, he worked unceasingly for a peace dialogue in the face of strong opposition from the Salvadoran military, the Reagan administration, and the oligarchy, and with lukewarm support from all but one of his fellow Salvadoran bishops.

Rivera created Tutela Legal in 1983 to replace the earlier Socorro Jurídico (Legal Aid), which had for years served the archdiocese under

[37]Montgomery, *Revolution in El Salvador*, p. 175.

Romero. Under intense pressure from the U.S. embassy, the Salvadoran government, and the other bishops, all of whom claimed that Socorro Jurídico was biased toward the FMLN-FDR, Rivera had been forced to sever archdiocesan ties with this organization in 1982. But bolstered by his newfound Vatican support, Rivera now felt secure enough to create Tutela Legal and appoint María Julia Hernández as its director. Under her gifted leadership the new human rights office would rapidly surpass its predecessor in effectiveness. As historian Jeffrey Klaiber states, it would soon become for El Salvador what the Vicariate of Solidarity was for Chile.[38] Initially a three-person operation, Tutela Legal grew rapidly until in 1994 it had a staff of twenty-two lawyers, social workers, and secretaries.[39] It meticulously investigated and documented arrests, murders, disappearances, and other forms of violence. Although the Reagan and Bush administrations often criticized its reports, it nevertheless developed a global reputation for fairness and professionalism. So respected was its work that its files soon became a major resource for such international organizations as Amnesty International and Americas Watch, as well as for the U.S. congressional delegation that produced the important Moakley Commission Report. The UN team that investigated Salvadoran human rights violations following the end of the civil war also relied heavily on the files of Tutela Legal.

As noted previously, in July 1982 the episcopal conference had gone on record for the first time in favor of peace talks. In the following October, the FMLN-FDR had sent a letter to Rivera stating its willingness to enter into dialogue with the government. Nothing came of it, however, since the government along with the Reagan administration felt a military solution to the civil war was possible and therefore preferable. Undeterred, Rivera maintained close ties with the Christian Democrats and attempted to win their support for a negotiated peace. Consequently, when PDC leader José Napoleón Duarte was elected president in 1984, he announced, to the shock of perhaps everyone but the archbishop, that he was willing to open a dialogue with the opposition. On October 15, both sides met for the first time in the local

[38]Jeffrey L. Klaiber, *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy in Latin America* (Maryknoll, 1998), p. 177. Tutela Legal was modeled after the Commission of Peace and Justice, which was formed in 1972 by Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns of São Paulo, Brazil, and the Vicariate of Solidarity, founded in 1976 by Cardinal Raul Silva Henríquez of Santiago, Chile. All three were highly successful in the struggle of the Catholic Church for democracy and social justice in Latin America.

[39]Klaiber, *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy*, p. 177.

Catholic church at La Palma, Chalatenango, with Rivera serving as intermediary. After several hours of discussion the meeting closed with both parties agreeing to convene again the following month at Ayagualo, near the capital.[40]

With Rivera serving again as intermediary, the Ayagualo talks were highlighted by an FMLN-FDR proposal for peace. It consisted of three demands: first, U.S. military aid should be terminated. Next, arrangements must be made for the opposition to be incorporated peacefully into civilian life with the right to safely participate in political activities. Finally, military and security forces must be purged of their most notorious human rights abusers, and the guerrillas would have to be assimilated into the army.[41] Although no definitive agreement was reached, the Ayagualo meeting was nevertheless significant in that it marked the first time a concrete proposal for peace was produced.[42]

Following the second dialogue, Rivera took advantage of negotiations and brokered a prisoner exchange.[43] Hope for a third meeting was dashed, however, when a faction of the FMLN killed four off-duty U.S. marine advisers to the Salvadoran military.

What happened next resulted from an unexpected event. On September 10, 1985, FMLN operatives kidnapped Duarte's thirty-five-year-old daughter, Ines, along with another woman, and her desperate father begged Rivera for help. As Duarte notes in his memoirs: "I asked Archbishop Rivera Damas to take upon himself the responsibility for finding a solution to our plight" since he had "contacts with the guerrillas."[44] Thus, in this crisis, Rivera served as more than a go-between for the two opposing sides. Duarte trusted him enough to give him primary responsibility to offer proposals in these negotiations.

The archbishop, however, was astute enough to realize that the guerrillas controlled the situation and he therefore needed the assistance of Ignacio Ellacuría, the Jesuit rector of the Central American University (UCA). Ellacuría was not close to the archbishop and was

[40]*ECA* (October–November, 1984), 840–47. For Duarte's take on La Palma and Ayagualo, see José Napoleón Duarte with Diana Page, *Duarte: My Story* (New York, 1986), pp. 208–28.

[41]*ECA* (December, 1984), 944–46.

[42]Klaiber, *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy*, p. 180.

[43]*Carta a las Iglesias* (December 16–31, 1984), pp. 13–14.

[44]Duarte, *Duarte*, p. 260.

despised by Duarte, the Salvadoran military, and U.S. embassy officials. He was well respected by FMLN leaders, however, and was a personal friend of several of their FDR allies, who had formerly been UCA professors. With Ellacuría's help, Rivera set up a meeting with FMLN representatives in Guazapa, north of the capital. It soon seemed that the archbishop and rector had worked out an agreement whereby the two women would be released in exchange for twenty-two FMLN prisoners, and some captive PDC mayors would be traded for wounded guerrillas. But when the FMLN reneged on the deal and demanded further terms, the talks broke down. Rivera, however, convinced both sides to return to the bargaining table, and the dialogue resumed in Panama. When negotiations bogged down again and the frustrated government representatives decided to return to San Salvador, Rivera convinced them to stay.[45] He called on Ellacuría to play a more active role, and an agreement was finally reached after forty days of negotiations. The two women were exchanged for twenty-two prisoners, and twenty-five mayors were traded for 101 injured guerrillas. It was further agreed that in the future, the families of government and military officials would be off-limits to the FMLN.[46] Klaiber's analysis of this episode is worth repeating: "In spite of the violence of the war, a civilized and human action had taken place. This was due in large part to the mediation of Rivera y Damas and his policy of 'humanizing the war.'"[47]

The negotiations in this incident shed much light on Rivera's character. First, the archbishop, realizing that he was not in a strong position to mediate the release of Duarte's daughter, did not hesitate to ask Ellacuría for help, even though he personally did not care for the views of the Jesuit priest, whom he saw as too radical and too close to the opposition. Second, when it seemed that the talks were not progressing, he gave Ellacuría more responsibility in the mediation process.

[45]Duarte, *Duarte*, pp. 263–64.

[46]Tomas R. Campos, "Lectura política de los secuestros," *ECA* (September–October, 1985), 684–700; Duarte, *Duarte*, pp. 241–67. It is interesting that in his recollections of this episode, Duarte credits Rivera and Rosa Chávez for whatever success was achieved while hardly mentioning Ellacuría. This apparent oversight can probably be attributed to his dislike of the UCA rector. Phillip Berryman seems to be more on the mark when he notes: "Although Rivera's presence was essential for the negotiations, when the complex negotiations threatened to break down, it was Ellacuría who skillfully proposed alternatives and deserved a good deal of the credit for the eventual solution." See Berryman, *Stubborn Hope*, p. 82. For the writings of Ellacuría on the peace negotiations, see Ignacio Ellacuría, *Veinte años de historia in El Salvador (1969–1989): Escritos políticos* (San Salvador, 1993), 3:1235–1483.

[47]Klaiber, *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy,* p. 182.

Indeed, as a result of the Inez Duarte affair, Rivera came to see Ellacuría as a skilled ally, and in the future the archbishop would rely on him more and more in the struggle for peace.

In 1986 the UCA Jesuits began a series of articles in their journal *Estudios Centroamericanos (ECA),* in which, following the lead of Rivera, they called for a "humanization" of the war. From then on, the Ellacuría-edited *ECA* would play a most important role in the peace process, allowing protagonists from both sides to use its pages to express their opinions on peace.[48]

Following Inez Duarte's release, Rivera was free to give more attention to a resettlement plan that had been in the preparatory stage since 1984. In the early 1980s, villagers in both the Guazapa and Chalatenango regions had been forced to flee their homes due to large-scale land and air attacks by the Salvadoran military. Aimed at rooting out FMLN guerrilla insurgents entrenched in these areas, the attacks had proven catastrophic to local civilians. Many were killed, and thousands were forced to flee their homes. Most had no alternative but to move to refugee camps run by the archdiocese, while the places they left behind turned into virtual ghost towns. One such place was Tenancingo. This was the locale that FMLN leaders chose for their release of Inez Duarte. When Rivera arrived to serve as a witness to the transactions, he found an empty town full of roofless, decaying houses.[49] Tenancingo was also the town that archdiocesan officials picked for the launching of their resettlement project.

In January 1986, after Rivera had both secured the services of an agency for the overseeing of rebuilding efforts and extracted promises from the military and guerrillas to refrain from using the Tenancingo area as a base of operations, the first fifty-six refugee families, all former residents of Tenancingo, were relocated there. The criteria that Rivera required for resettlement reveal much about his methods for pursuing social justice. A well-prepared reconstruction plan had to be in place before refugees would be permitted to resettle. Ideology should not be a factor in whether or not refugees are allowed to return home. Those

[48]Berryman, *Stubborn Hope*, pp. 83–84. Berryman correctly points out in another work that throughout the 1970s and 1980s *ECA* "published the best and most relevant social science in El Salvador as well as a running commentary on successive political situations." Phillip Berryman, "Ignacio Ellacuría: An Appreciation," *America* (July 7, 1990), 12.

[49]Duarte, *Duarte*, pp. 264–65.

who supported the government as well as those who favored the guerrillas should be welcome. The local parish priest should play a role in resettlement and involve himself in efforts aimed at reconciling opposing ideological groups.[50] As can be seen from this blueprint, Rivera was a peacemaker who made reconciliation his top priority.

Although in the long run the Tenancingo project proved to be less than totally successful, it nevertheless served as a model for other relocation projects that worked well. As Berryman notes, soon refugee camps that had been crowded for years began to empty.[51] Thanks to archdiocesan efforts, thousands were able to return to their towns and villages where the church helped them to reclaim their lives.

Throughout 1986 and into 1987, Rivera continued to work unceasingly to renew dialogue between the government and the FMLN, acting as a courier, delivering proposals and counterproposals, but at first with little success. Finally, the 1987 signing of the Arias Peace Plan in Esquipulas, Guatemala, by the five Central American presidents created a new opportunity. He arranged a third meeting in October 1987 that was held at the residence of Francesco de Nittis, the new papal nuncio, in San Salvador. After ten hours of negotiations mediated by the archbishop with the assistance of Bishop Rosa Chávez, the opposing sides agreed to form two joint committees. The task of the first was to work out terms for a cease-fire, while the second was to find ways to comply with the other points of the Arias Plan. Rivera agreed to serve as president of both committees.[52] But the peace process was derailed again when the FMLN-FDR cut off dialogue with the government three weeks after the conclusion of the San Salvador meeting, to protest the October 26 murder of Herbert Anaya Sanabria, the director of the nongovernmental Commission of Human Rights.

Tired of the recalcitrant behavior of both sides in the peace dialogues, Rivera decided to go directly to the Salvadoran people. In June 1988, he announced his plan to hold a "National Debate for Peace." This plan was inspired in part by the Chilean church's "National Accord for the Transition to Full Democracy," the brainchild of Santiago's Cardinal Juan Francisco Fresno that played a major role in ending the Pinochet dictatorship. But whereas the Chilean accord involved only opposition political parties, Rivera's "National Debate" included a much wider seg-

[50]Berryman, *Stubborn Hope*, p. 85.
[51]*Ibid.,* p. 86.
[52]*ECA* (October, 1987), 727–50.

ment of Salvadoran society. Rivera had a questionnaire created and presented to Salvadoran business and professional associations, religious and political groups, and labor and peasant organizations. The groups were asked to articulate their thoughts on essential aspects for the building of peace. Sixty-three groups responded, but right-wing political parties and most business organizations refused to participate. Eighty-two percent of participants condemned the civil war as a solution to the nation's problems and stated that they did not believe that elections alone would guarantee democracy. Only 39 percent agreed that the FMLN should be recognized as a legitimate revolutionary movement. Church officials next collated the results into a series of 180 propositions that were then returned to the various organizations. They were to be studied in preparation for a Church-sponsored meeting to be held at Holy Family School on September 3 and 4. Rivera presided, assisted by Rosa Chávez. Representatives of sixty of the groups attended the debate, where they voted on and adopted 164 of the propositions. These included a call for an immediate cease-fire to be followed by a dialogue aimed at a peace settlement, requests for government-initiated legislation aimed at correcting long-standing injustices toward the poor, an end to foreign military involvement in Salvadoran affairs, and the termination of guerrilla disruptions of transportation and public utility services.[53]

Through the "National Debate," Rivera and the Church had succeeded in creating a grassroots consensus demanding that the powers that be, both governmental and revolutionary, take peace negotiations more seriously. Many groups involved were collaborating with one another for the first time. Sociologist Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, writing at the time for *America* magazine, sums up the importance of the archbishop's initiative:

> [T]he National Debate . . . has created a powerful grassroots pressure that could be effective in moving the Government and the guerrillas towards a cease-fire and a negotiated peace. . . . [I]n their weariness and desperation, the people, under the leadership of the Archbishop, are making their voice heard as it has not been heard before. If this continues, in the long run it may be decisive.[54]

Writing a decade later, Klaiber adds:

[53]*ECA* (August–September, 1988). The whole issue deals with the National Debate.

[54]Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "The Church's Great Initiative for Peace in El Salvador," *America* (October 8, 1988), 213.

> For the first time during the war an independent public forum—which represented important sectors of society, minus the extreme right—had conducted its own dialogue on the problems of the country, including the war. The debate constituted a sort of national mandate for both the government and the guerrillas to get back to the conference table. Furthermore, the final document, along with the survey, constituted the basis for a new national consensus. In this sense, the church had effectively applied pressure on the government and the FMLN to respond to a new agenda no longer established by them alone.[55]

On June 1, 1989, the new Salvadoran president, Alfredo Cristiani, announced that he would meet the FMLN-FDR in dialogue. His ARENA (Alianza Republicana Nacionalista) party, however, preferred a more conservative bishop as mediator, so Rivera was not chosen to serve in this capacity.[56] Meetings were held in Mexico and Costa Rica in September and October, with representatives from the United Nations and the Organization of American States present for the first time at the October meeting. The FMLN-FDR, however, cancelled the third dialogue when the headquarters of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers was bombed, killing ten union leaders. On November 11 the FMLN launched a major offensive, and five days later, the Salvadoran military executed Ellacuría and five other UCA Jesuits along with their cook and her daughter.[57] So hated was Rivera by the armed forces that after the UCA murders, soldiers drove around his office, announcing over a loudspeaker: "Ignacio Ellacuría and Martín-Baró have fallen. We will continue killing communists. . . . We are the soldiers of the First Brigade."[58] Rivera, however, was not intimidated; he stated publicly on November 19: "The assassins are from the armed forces or close to them."[59] When the FBI brutalized Lucía Cerna, the sole witness to the killings, forcing her to change her story, Rivera denounced its conduct, terming it "brainwashing and psychological torture."[60] His words caused much embarrassment to the U.S. State Department.

[55]Klaiber, *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy*, p. 185.

[56]*Ibid.*, p. 186.

[57]For the Jesuit murders, see Teresa Whitfield, *Paying the Price: Ignacio Ellacuría and the Murdered Jesuits of El Salvador* (Philadelphia, 1995); and Martha Doggett, *Death Foretold: The Jesuit Murders in El Salvador* (Washington, D.C., 1993).

[58]*Uno Más Uno* (November 17, 1989); Whitfield, *Paying the Price*, p. 81; Instituto de Estudios Centroamericanos and El Rescate, *The Jesuit Assassinations: The Writings of Ellacuría, Martín Baró and Segundo Montes, with a Chronology of the Investigation* (Kansas City, 1990), p. 33.

[59]*Jesuit Assassinations*, p. 36.

[60]*Ibid.,* p. 42. Lindsey Gruson, "Dispute in Salvador on Witness in Jesuit Case," *New York Times* (December 11, 1989), A10; Lee Hockstader, "U.S. Accused of Impugning

The violent deaths of the Jesuits brought international condemnation, causing the government to negotiate in a more serious way. A peace accord was finally agreed to in September 1991 and signed on January 1, 1992. The same month, Rivera was elected president of the episcopal conference for the first time, a surprise since the conference was still dominated by conservatives who seldom agreed with his policies.[61] Perhaps his election was an indirect admission that he had been correct in the path he chose to follow in his pursuit of peace.

Conclusion

After Rivera's death, the Vatican chose Fernando Sáenz Lacalle, a conservative Opus Dei member, as his successor, and the right-wing ARENA party controls the presidency and a plurality in the National Assembly to this day. The church is still divided in El Salvador, and the poor are still oppressed. Nevertheless, death-squad killings have virtually disappeared. Honest elections have taken place, and reformist candidates have fared relatively well. If justice ever does take hold in this country, it will be due in no small part to the unrelenting efforts of Archbishop Rivera.

Was Rivera's pragmatic strategy more successful than Romero's prophetic approach when it came to concrete results? Rather than analyzing the work of the two archbishops separately, it might be more useful to address as a single historical era the time period from the early 1970s, when Chávez was archbishop, until 1994, when Rivera died. In this analysis, Romero and Rivera's success was constructed on the achievements of their respective predecessors. It was Chávez who first planted the roots of Vatican II and Medellín in the Salvadoran church. Under Romero, these roots bore fruit, and the "voice of the voiceless" touched the hearts of the poor like no other person in Salvadoran history; at the same time, he made the world aware of the reality of blatant injustice in El Salvador. Similarly, the success of Archbishop Rivera as a peacemaker can only be seen as building on

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Salvadoran," *Washington Post* (December 11, 1989), A23; Joe Feuerherd, "Officials Disagree on Coercion of Salvadoran Witness," *National Catholic Reporter* (December 22, 1989), 6; for a detailed discussion of this case, see Whitefield, *Paying the Price*, pp. 85–90.

[61]Although the conference was still dominated by conservatives, most of the bishops who had been appointed in the late 1980s were moderate conservatives who had not impeded Rivera's peace overtures. Likewise, unlike his predecessor, the papal nuncio assigned to El Salvador in the mid-1980s worked with Rivera rather than against him.

and growing out of the charismatic legacy of Romero. All three complemented each other. No single archbishop could have been as successful alone.

What makes Rivera unique, however, is the fact that, unlike his two predecessors, he was a major player in the Salvadoran church's post-Medellín struggle for justice from its beginning to its end. Following Medellín, Chávez created a progressive church with a progressive clergy. But he could not have done so without the help of the younger Rivera, who was truly a driving force. Romero did not play much of a positive role at this time. Romero also needed episcopal support during his tenure as leader of the Salvadoran church, especially since he was opposed at virtually every turn by the bishops' conference and the nuncio. He found it in Rivera. The prophetic life and violent death of Romero created sympathy and even a mythology that greatly enhanced Rivera's chance of succeeding in his efforts to diminish violence and bring peace to El Salvador. Each archbishop—Chávez, Romero, and Rivera—rose to greatness during his episcopal tenure, and together, they have given their nation the chance for a peaceful future.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

The Roman Catholic Church: An Illustrated History. By Edward Norman. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. 192. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-520-25251-6.)

This has all of the appearances of a coffee-table book, on the order of Eamon Duffy's *Saints and Sinners*: it is oversized, is called "an Illustrated History," has lots of images, and features a beautiful cover. But it is not a coffee-table book at all. The text is something quite different—complicated, written in a difficult English full of semicolons and parenthetical phrases, unconventional, and *very* interesting. I began by disliking this book and finished it thinking it was brilliant—perhaps not accessible to the average reader, but certainly a statement about the Catholic Church's history that needs to be heard.

The illustrations are well chosen and support the text, and often add interesting notes not found in the text, but they are not the main show. The text is what this book is all about, and that is why it is so conflicted. A picture book should be about the pictures, and this book is far more interesting for its text. Edward Norman, the author, was Margaret Thatcher's unofficial "historian," now an emeritus professor at Peterhouse College in Cambridge, and a long-time Anglican long interested in the Roman Catholic Church. He has written several books on the Roman Church in Ireland and in England, and it is no surprise that he has recently converted to the Roman Catholic Church. His text belies his devotion to the authority of the papacy and its inherent continuity and integrity.

The book attempts to show the tension between the secular authority and religious authority, as exhibited through the societies of the various ages of the Church. Norman follows an intelligent division of the Church's history, based on the six ages first proposed by Christopher Dawson. The Church always comes across better than modern secular historians would like, and Norman is quick to point out the differences. In fact, this is what his book is best at doing: highlighting the past as opposed to the present. In mentioning the Crusades and the Knights Hospitallers, Norman notices that Hospitallers "employed nursing sisters in their enormous Jerusalem hospital a thousand years before Florence Nightingale" (p. 62). In describing Moorish Spain, Norman observes, "All those placid courtyards and sparkling fountains, that poetry and art, rested upon the existence of one of the largest slave populations the world has ever seen" (p. 67). We tend to dote on the beauty and regret its passing in Muslim Spain, but conveniently forget how it got there. Norman also draws provoca-

tive connections between eras, claiming that the Spanish Inquisition was "a Moorish legacy" (p. 68), and that the crusading spirit ran to the conquest of the Americas. Ponce de León, after all, was a commander at the Fall of Grenada.

Unlike many commentators on the history of the Church, Norman gives the French Revolution and its aftermath a lot of attention. (Roland Bainton, in his two-volume history of the Church, did not even *mention* the French Revolution.) But Norman recognizes it, and its ideological roots in the Enlightenment, as key to the next two hundred years. He is not so concerned with details—he does not spend much time on the *details* of the interaction between Nazi Germany and the Vatican—but he delves into the ideological issues at length. He is insistent that there is an admirable theological consistency running from popes Pius IX to Benedict XVI—namely, a defense of universal truth in the face of relativism or the tyranny of reason—and sees that new crises are nothing more than old crises revisited under different rubrics. Norman seems glad that there is a Church out there, with a long history of fighting those battles.

There are a few blips. Norman says that American Catholics did not really participate in the American Revolution. Besides the diplomatic work (and courage) of Charles Carroll, who defied the governor of Maryland and was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, there were several Catholic military units who fought as such on the colonial side. In the anti-Catholic riots in Louisville, Kentucky, it is more probable that twenty Catholics (Irish, of course) lost their lives, rather than the one hundred claimed by Norman. Of those popes after the French Revolution who were interested in reversing its effects, he mentions Gregory XII instead of Gregory XVI (p. 142), and *horore* should be *honore* (p. 144), but these are obviously typographical errors and, although grist for the reviewer's mill, do not detract from this thought-provoking text. My favorite mistake, however, is a photo of Cardinal Suenens meeting Pope Paul VI (p. 181). It is not Pope Paul VI; it is another cardinal.

Nonetheless, this is a text worth reading, even for the seasoned scholar. Norman's comments on anything are worth the read, be it the Crusades or the Inquisition, modernism or liberation theology. But I am not sure I would place it on my coffee table.

Providence College JOHN VIDMAR, O.P.

A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1450–1990: A Documentary Sourcebook. Edited by Klaus Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado, in cooperation with Roland Spliesgart. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2007. Pp. xxxiv, 426. $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-82889-7.)

Syllabuses in ecclesiastical history are making slow progress toward the incorporation of the Christian histories of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Documentary sources for the church history of these continents have, however, remained comparatively inaccessible to students. The English edition of this excellent sourcebook, which was first published in German by Neukirchener Verlag in 2004, will therefore be welcomed by many university and seminary teachers.

The editors are to be congratulated on the range of the extracts selected. Each document or cluster of documents is prefaced by a brief contextual introduction and followed by bibliographical information and suggestions for further reading. The extracts vary in length from a few lines (such as the first document, which records the Italian Nicolò Conti's impressions of the "Nestorian" Christians of Malabar in the early-fifteenth century) to three pages (for example, Bernadino de Sahagún's account of the religious dialogue in 1524 between the twelve Franciscans of the Mexico mission and Aztec priests and noblemen). Inevitably, the reader wishes that some documents could be reproduced at greater length: as is the case of the brief extract from the Kairos document of 1985, which is so heavily punctuated with elisions that students will find it difficult to grasp the argument of these radical critics of apartheid. The sequence of documents is, however, frequently illuminating. Students of the genesis of liberation theology, for example, will be led from Camilo Torres to *Populorum progressio*, on to Medellín 1968, and then to Gutiérrez and Câmara.

A challenge confronting the editors was how to compensate for the overwhelming preponderance of male over female sources, especially in the earlier centuries. In this respect the selection is a little disappointing. The index of individuals includes only four female entries (excluding the Virgin of Guadalupe): Queen Isabella of Castile; Juana Inés de La Cruz, the seventeenth-century Mexican poet and defender of women's learning; Ranavalona I, queen of Madagascar and defender of Malagasy tradition against missionaries in the 1830s; and Gabriela Mistral, Chilean supporter of social Christianity in the 1920s. There is no room for Kimpa Vita (Beatrice), a controversial figure in the Bakongo Antonian movement in the first decade of the eighteenth century, nor for Alice Lenshina Mulenga, founder of the Lumpa Church among the Bemba in the 1950s. The terminal date of 1990 chosen for the volume largely, but not wholly, explains the nonappearance of African or Asian feminist theologians.

The selection of documents maintains an admirable ecumenical breadth, with the exception of the coverage of Pentecostalism in Latin America, which is allocated only two extracts (on Guatemala and Honduras) and introduced by a manifestly unsympathetic commentary, giving the reader the impression that Pentecostalism is of no significance for the liberation of the Latin American poor.

There are a number of mistakes. It is not the case that the East India Company before 1813 refused to allow all missionary activity in its territories (p. 56). Daniel Wilson, Anglican bishop of Calcutta, is referred to as "Henry" (p.

63). Walter Medhurst was not American but English (p. 83). Henry Morton Stanley was not American but Welsh (p. 195). The Phelps Stokes Fund has become the Phelps-Stoke Institute, and A. G. Fraser has become Frazer (pp. 232–33). Gandhi's first name was Mohandas, not "Mahatma" (pp. 109, 425). There are occasional problems with cross-referencing and indexing: thus the index and the cross-references to Simon Kimbangu refer readers to the wrong documents. It is hoped that these and other errors can be corrected in a future edition, for this book deserves to have a long and useful life.

St. Edmund's College, Cambridge BRIAN STANLEY

Catholic and Ecumenical: History and Hope, Why the Catholic Church Is Ecumenical and What She Is Doing about It. Second edition. By Frederick M. Bliss, S.M. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield [A Sheed & Ward Book]. 2007. Pp. xx, 185. $72.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-742-55256-2; $24.95 paperback, 978-0-742-55257-9.)

Frederick M. Bliss's *Catholic and Ecumenical* is a welcome addition to the theological library. This revised edition of an earlier work (1999) serves a variety of readers. For the new student of theology it is a textbook of the *aide-mémoire* of ecumenism. For the Catholic in the pew, it is a handbook about his or her Church's involvement in Christian unity. For the seasoned ecumenist it is a reference guide for research. Whoever, the reader is quickly introduced to the heart of the matter: ecclesiology, *vis-à-vis* the first words of the book's title. Midway in the title, the words *history and hope* reflect a hermeneutic and methodology by which the author anchors his portrayal of the Catholic Church as a church "catholic" and "ecumenical." What emerges is a triad of history, theology, and pastorality. History situates the theological narrative from the God-given gift of the unity of the Church, through the human sin of disunity and division, to the converting call to seek unity anew. History frames the pastoral praxis that engenders the hope that the Catholic Church has herself reformed, emerging from catholic isolation to ecumenical integration. For Father Bliss, the Catholic Church and all churches are each called to claim a self-understanding that identifies them as part of the one Church of Christ.

Let the reader, however, not be caught off-guard by the accessible writing style of the author, a veteran theologian and professor of ecumenical theology. *Catholic and Ecumenical* is no light reading. Its content is dense and its process intricate. At times the text offers a challenging wrestling match to the reader, especially when the author shifts from a diachronic account to a synchronic update. For example, chapter 6, "Reformation in England," opens with a review of ecclesial models of unity, a twentieth-century concept (pp. 123–25). Apart from one model, *typos/typoi* that describes Anglican-Roman Catholic relations, this has little to do with the English Reformation. This also is the case with what follows, i.e., an explanation of the notion of "hierarchy of truths" from the Second Vatican Council (pp. 125–27). Furthering the discon-

nection is the reference to "conciliar teaching" without identifying the council (p. 125). Why confuse the ecumenical reader, who encounters *council* and *conciliar* in relation to church councils and conciliar ecumenism? This introduction ends with mention of Trent, Lutheranism, Anglicanism, and Orthodoxy as "background" (p. 127) for consideration of the English Reform. Even a seasoned ecumenist finds difficulty making connections. Perhaps the problem is the chapter's title. Of its thirty-two pages of text, less than one-third of them discuss the English Reform per se.

Other glitches and lacunae of times, events, sources, peoples, places, and so forth also make *Catholic and Ecumenical* a challenging read. Dates are sometimes incorrect (p. 33 has 1926 as the year of Jan Willebrands's death; he died in 2006), or missing (Raymond Brown, pp. 3, 36; his dates are 1928–98), or do not appear with the first citation (p. 39 first mentions Azusa Street Revival; p. 150 gives its date, 1906). Entries in the index have errors of page references ("Pentecostal" does not appear on p. 126). Some may be typographical, unfortunately missed in proofreading. However, the book has glitches of a more serious nature. For example, p. 145 bears a subtitle, "Methodist Signing of the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification." The section and its question are misleading. The World Methodist Conference signed an association document on the doctrine; it did not sign the Joint Declaration.

Only because this volume is such an important contribution to ecumenical study in general that specific criticism is given. Its breadth of scope in treatment of Catholicism and other Christian traditions with which it relates serves a readership wider than most books on the ecumenical shelf.

The Interchurch Center, New York LORELEI F. FUCHS, S.A.

Rome and Canterbury: The Elusive Search for Unity. By Mary Reath. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xviii, 158. $19.95. ISBN 978-0-742-55278-4.)

This is an excellent contemporary overview of Anglican-Roman relations, particularly strong on developments since Vatican Council I. Reath exhibits a generous understanding of the complex issues, providing an informative and thought-provoking text for ecumenical dialogue groups. Above all, she places theological and ecclesiological developments in their historical context, outlining the cultural and political forces bearing upon the respective churches.

The narrative is both hopeful and cautious. Anglicans will be encouraged when Reath cites Benedict XVI's judgment before his election: "As far as the doctrine of primacy is concerned, Rome must not require more of the East than was formulated and living during the first millennium" (p. 67). Yet she warns of understandable Catholic fears that the Anglican Communion could become little more than a loose confederation of separate churches instead of

a worldwide group identified, among other things, by a common prayer book; the dominical sacraments; the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; interlocking authority structures involving all orders, lay and ordained; and clear teaching on discipline.

Reath discusses such issues in the United States as the consecration of Gene Robinson, an openly gay bishop in a long-term, same-sex relationship; the election of a female presiding bishop, Katharine Jefferts Schori; and the unwelcome incursion of "Anglican missions" into the United States by four African primates offering alternative jurisdictions from that of the Episcopal Church, thereby raising questions about the nature of *koinonia* within the Anglican Communion itself.

The section on infallibility is a must read. The author cites Cardinal Kasper's assertion that such movements as the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the absolutism of modern states, Gallicanism, and Episcopalianism were among the extreme and exceptional circumstances, which led the council fathers of Vatican Council I to affirm papal infallibility. Yet she reminds us of the intentionally rare use of this gift. *Pastor Aeternus*, she reminds us, asserts that infallibility is to be exercised only after every means possible has been taken to determine the *already* existing mind of the Church; only then can an explicit and authoritative pronouncement be made. She has obvious affection for indefectibility, itself an aspect of infallibility, citing John Macquarrie's description of "infallibility" as "a persistence toward truth" (p. 57).

Benedict XVI's familiarity with ecumenical dialogue and the large number of ecumenical agreements approved during his leadership of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith are signs of hope. Likewise, Reath sees Archbishop Williams as making plain "that neither Western, liberal thinkers who sometimes believe that society sets the agenda, and the Church must respond, nor the so-called global south, which asserts that it is the Bible that sets the agenda, represent classical Anglicanism" (p. 80).

Reath's writing is clear and concise; her numerous quotations from both primary and secondary sources are judiciously selected and so woven into the narrative that they enhance the flow of the text. There are occasional editorial glitches to be corrected for the inevitable next edition. In a table on page 5, Catherine of Aragon is listed as first Henry VII's wife and then as Henry VIII's wife. Rather, she was Henry VII's daughter-in-law: first as wife of Prince Arthur and then of Henry VIII, the latter almost two months after Henry VII's death. On page 80, there is a reference to the "Apostle's" Creed. None of this detracts from the admirable breadth of detail and brevity of expression in Reath's narrative.

Trinity Cathedral DAVID BIRD
San Jose, California

Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis: Series Episcoporum Ecclesiarum Christianarum Orientalium III: Supplementum. By Giorgio Fedalto. (Padova: Edizioni Messaggero. 2006. Pp. 557. €110,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-825-01393-1.)

Various attempts have been made over the years to bring a sense of order to the complex and sometimes chaotic histories of the eastern churches. One aspect of this effort has been to publish lists of bishops of individual dioceses to show the historical continuity of the church in a particular place. The French Dominican theologian and historian Michel Le Quien (1661–1733) was the first to do this in a systematic way in his *Oriens christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus, in quo exhibentur Ecclesiae patriarchae caeterique praesules totius Orientis*, published posthumously in three volumes in Paris in 1740. Taking an exclusively topographical approach, Le Quien produced exhaustive lists with biographical notes of bishops of dioceses within the territory of the four ancient eastern Patriarchates (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) as well as dioceses in outlying areas reaching out into Africa and into Asia as far as India. Le Quien's opus remained the standard work in the field for centuries. But as it grew more and more outdated, there were increasing calls for a new *Oriens Christianus*; the eastern Church specialist Adrian Fortescue called for such an effort in 1907.

Eighty-one more years would pass before an updated and revised edition of Le Quien's work would appear, under the direction of the prolific church historian Giorgio Fedalto of the University of Padua. His two-volume *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis* drew on the vast historical research in the area that took place after Le Quien's death, correcting, improving, and updating the eighteenth-century work. The present volume is a supplement to the 1988 edition. It incorporates the results of the most recent research and updates the entries as needed up to the year 2000. For the first time, the supplement also includes an appendix that covers the many dioceses of eastern churches that have been established in other parts of the world in the modern era, mostly in Western Europe, the Americas, and Australia.

In his introduction, Fedalto presents this supplement as part of a difficult work in progress, still to be perfected, with gaps to be filled and corrections to be made. A number of these might be noted, some minor typos and spelling errors, but others are more serious. For example, some dioceses are misidentified as Greek Catholic when in fact they are Latin, such as Vitebsk, Belarus; and Scutari, Albania. The footnote on page 10 giving my classification of churches omits the Oriental Orthodox. The list of Orthodox archbishops of Athens on page 172 mistakenly adds an Archbishop Seraphim after Christodoulos, who took office in 1998 and lived until 2008. The list of bishops of the Apostolic Exarchate for Greece and Turkey (p. 173) mistakenly includes Latin Archbishop Foscolos of Athens (it should be Gad, 1958–75; Printesis, 1975–2008). The list of Catholic archbishops of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (p. 232), leaves out Paulos Cardinal Tzadua, 1977–98. The text of the note on page 430 labeled Old

Believers is really about the noncanonical Orthodox groups in Ukraine. The Slovak Catholic and Ukrainian Catholic eparchies of Toronto (p. 440) are conflated into a single jurisdiction. The list of Armenian archbishops of Los Angeles (Catholicossate of Cilicia, p. 449) is confused (it should be Yeprem Tabakian, 1977–85; Datev Sarkissian, 1985–95; and Moushegh Mardirossian, 1995 to the present). The list of Greek Orthodox archbishops of America (New York, p. 450) is also confused (it should be Iakovos, 1959–96; Spyridon 1996–99; and Demetrios, from 1999).

Any attempt to classify the eastern churches has its weaknesses. The more common approach today is to consider the churches according to communions, grouping the eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches together, as well as the Eastern Catholics and the Assyrian Church of the East. Using this structure in a work like Fedalto's would allow the researcher to see more clearly the historical development of a single church in various areas. But the topographical approach also has its merits, providing a vision of the leadership of the various churches of different traditions in a particular place over the course of the centuries. As such, although the details merit checking, Fedalto's work is an indispensible research tool.

St. Paul's College RONALD G. ROBERSON, C.S.P.

Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture. By Scot McKendrick and Kathleen Doyle. (London: The British Library; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. 160. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-712-34922-2.)

In *Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture*, Scot McKendrick and Kathleen Doyle present a thematic catalogue of a collection, which contains more than 130 manuscripts presented on 142 color plates. The book highlights masterpieces of the British Library such as the Codex Sinaiticus, the Cotton Genesis, the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Vespasian Psalter, the Harley Golden Gospels, the Moutier-Grandval Bible, the Lothar Psalter, the Ramsey Psalter, the Harley Psalter, the Tiberius Psalter, the Silos Apocalypse, the Stavelot Bible, the Rochester Bible, the Winchester Psalter, the Siegburg Lectionary, the Psalter of Henry the Lion, the Floreffe Bible, the Worms Bible, the Arnstein Bible, the Abingdon Apocalypse, the Holkhalm Bible Picture Book, the Queen Mary Psalter, and the Egerton Genesis.

The manuscripts, which date from the second to the sixteenth century and are mostly "classical" parchment codices, belong mainly to the Latin medieval world; only a few examples are from Asia Minor and the Middle East and written in languages other than Latin. The manuscripts are arranged in chronological order. In general, each manuscript—most selected because of their outstanding quality in decoration—is represented by one or two full-page illustrations. The single color plates are accompanied by short captions that identify the text and the subject of illumination, the language in which it is

written, the place of origin and the date, and the measurements and the shelf-number of the British Library. Certain aspects of the manuscripts are explained: decoration, content, the type of manuscript, the circumstance of its creation, and the origin or provenance. This approach allows the general reader to use the publication as a picture book; however, such a method of organization will disappoint the reader looking for textual coherency. The introduction (pp. 7–11) partly addresses this issue, but gives only some references to the manuscripts that follow; in general, the connection to the descriptions remains loose. The introduction includes a map (pp. 8–9) that shows the places of origin (called "Centres of Christianity") of the manuscripts and gives an idea of the geographical main topics that lie in southern England, northwestern Europe, and Italy.

At the end of the book, a further reading section; an index of biblical citations; an index of manuscripts; and a general index of cited places, individuals, types of manuscripts, and iconographic terms provide further assistance to the reader.

In summary, this is a very fine book, especially for the general reader who will appreciate the scholarly and instructive captions.

Austrian National Library ANDREAS FINGERNAGEL

The Restoration of Israel: Christian Zionism in Religion, Literature and Politics. By Gerhard Falk. [American University Studies, Series VII: Theology and Religion, Vol. 257.] (New York: Peter Lang. 2006. Pp. xii, 224. $70.95. ISBN 978-0-820-48862-2.)

Gerhard Falk is a professor of sociology at Buffalo State University, New York, and the author of fifteen other books on a diverse range of subjects including deviant nurses, football, grandparents, stigma, fraud, ageism, and murder. In this particular book, he traces the influence of the Hebrew Bible in history and civilization and explores how Christians helped nurture and facilitate the return of Jewish people to Palestine, also called Restorationism. Further chapters evaluate Jewish support and Muslim resistance to the return.

At times Falk's use of rather awkward terminology suggests he is either unfamiliar with Christianity, English, or both. For example, two final chapters deal with what Falk describes as "Displacement" and "Two-Covenant" theology. The former is more usually referred to as "Replacement" theology. He also claims, "It is surely no exaggeration to say that the growth of Christianity as a world religion depended as much on the satanization of the Jews as any other contributing factor" (p. 8).

He reinforces this assertion by claiming the Roman Catholic Church also "taught its billion followers to regard all Jews as 'Christ killers' with the con-

sequence that Jews living at any time anywhere became the targets of revenge murders, finally resulting in the Holocaust. All this has been described in an avalanche of literature in every European language, far too voluminous to be reviewed here" (p. 158).

Besides sweeping generalizations, simple factual errors abound. In the preface Falk refers to Tyndale, but it appears on the back cover as Tindale. Similarly, John Wycliffe is given two different sets of dates: "(1320–1384)" on page vii and "(1325–1384)" on page 3.

As someone who has also written extensively on the subject of Christian Zionism, I examined his index and was initially gratified to find my name listed numerous times. However, on checking the references I discovered that without offering a single attributable quote, Falk falsely labels me as the "leading Jew baiter in England" (p. 195), as well as states that I defamed Judaism (p. 196), that I "hop[e] for the elimination of Israel" (p. 195), that I blame the Jews for the destruction of the World Trade Center (p. 195), and that I repeat all the anti-Jewish polemics possible (p. 196). I must also deny his equally unfounded allegation that I am "the most influential Anglican preacher in England today" (p. 93). Suddenly, remaining objective in writing this book review became a rather difficult task.

I therefore wrote to Falk and invited him to substantiate any of his allegations. I subsequently received a reply from Heidi Burns, senior editor at Peter Lang, the publisher of Falk's book. It contained an errata sheet that Lang intended to add to the remaining stock of the book. It listed the seven references to me and after each added, "I erroneously refer to the Rev. Stephen Sizer. . . . This is not the case. It is an error." The concluding sentence stated, "In short, the author apologizes for mentioning these matters and believes that all references to the Rev. Sizer are not supported by the evidence." In a subsequent letter, probably designed to dissuade me from initiating a libel action, Falk confessed, "I must say that I am astonished that anyone would be interested in reviewing my book since it has been my experience that my writings have a tiny audience and have little impact on the events of this world."

Given that the author has received an award for "Excellence in Research, Scholarship, and Creativity," I can only deduce that Falk has, on this occasion, to put it charitably, relied too heavily on secondary sources or his imagination. These errata comments, although welcome, do not instill much confidence regarding the reliability of other sources quoted, as I am unable to substantiate these. Other Jewish academics—notably, Dan Cohen-Sherbok and Gershom Gorenberg, together with Timothy Weber and Victoria Clark—provide a more reliable assessment of Christian Zionism than Falk. I recommend, therefore, that he stick to sociology and avoid writing on theology in the future.

Christ Church Vicarage, Virginia Water, UK STEPHEN SIZER

Iuris Historia: Liber Amicorum Gero Dolezalek. Edited by Vincenzo Colli and Emanuele Conte [Studies in Comparative Legal History.] (Berkeley: Robbins Collection. 2008. Pp. xxiv, 431. $50.00. ISBN 978-1-882-23918-4.)

This *Festschrift* in honor of the legal historian Gero Dolezalek (now at the University of Aberdeen) is congenial to his many talents and scholarly predilections. It starts with an introduction to his peripatetic career (pp. ix–xi) and a list of publications from 1966 to 2005 (pp. xiii–xxiv). The twenty-seven articles that follow are written in Spanish, Italian, English, German, and French by authors who know Dolezalek as an outstanding lecturer in their native tongue and from sojourns at his workplace from 1968–89, the Max-Planck Institute for European Legal History in Frankfurt am Main. Most of the contributions faithfully reflect Dolezalek's interests by concentrating on cataloguing, literary format, individual authorship, and editing of works written by medieval jurists.

The articles are arranged chronologically and begin with essays by Annalisa Belloni (pp. 1–16) and Antonio Ciaralli (pp. 17–35) on the early medieval preservation of the Codex Florentinus, the most famous among surviving Digest manuscripts. They end with a comment by Michaela Reinckenhof (pp. 423–31) on the Roman law background of a liability provision in the German Civil Code. In between, there are, under the rubric of cataloguing, a survey by Martin Bertram and Paola Maffei (61–72) of medieval manuscripts at the Chapter of La Seu d'Urgell; Anders Winroth's description (pp. 141–44) of a twelfth-century fragment of Gratian's *Decretum* at Stockholm; a description of ms. Leipzig, UB Hänel 14, by André Gouron (pp. 131–39); and another of ms. Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana 26, by Carmen Tort-Martorell (pp. 37–60).

Literary genres are surveyed by Mario Ascheri (pp. 73–87) in his treatment of "peace" in Tuscan communal legislation; by Manlio Bellomo (pp. 249–65), who focuses on university statutes; by Vincenzo Colli (pp. 213–47) in the comprehensive overview of autographs and author's copies among medieval legal manuscripts, arguably the most ambitious piece of scholarship in the volume; and by Charles Donahue, Jr. (pp. 345–53) in a progress report on modern editions of ecclesiastical court records. In addition, Steffen Wunderlich (pp. 387–403) has treated legal *consilia* tied to litigation in the imperial courts of the early 1500s, and Douglas Osler (pp. 405–22) has covered Roman law literature from the early modern Netherlands.

Several contributors have analyzed individual texts, such as Diego Quaglioni (pp. 89–104), who tracks medieval references to Frederick Barbarossa's constitution, *Omnis iurisdictio*; Tammo Wallinga (pp. 105–19) in his study of a *casus Codicis* by Wilhelmus de Cabriano; Gisela Drossbach (pp. 145–59) in her presentation of the anonymous decretal collection known as *Collectio Francofurtana*; and Linda Fowler-Magerl (pp. 267–80) in her remarks on a procedural *ordo* by the decretalist Bonus Iohannes, bishop of Lodi from 1252. Along similar lines, Antonio Padoa Schioppa (pp. 281–92) examines the procedural *Formularium* of Martinus Fanensis, Gerard Giordanengo (pp.

323–44) analyzes the *Dictionarium iuris* of the Dominican John of Erfurt, and Ennio Cortese (pp. 369–85) covers the works of Bartolus edited by Thomas Diplovatatius.

Three authors edit Latin texts. *Questiones* by Henricus Anglicus and Henricus de Scotia are introduced and transcribed by Orazio Condorelli (pp. 293–13), Domenico Maffei (pp. 315–21) publishes several *questiones* by Osbertus Cremonensis, and Julius Kirshner (pp. 355–68) offers a *consilium* of Torello de Torellis. Barely outside the celebrant's focus are the articles by Peter Landau (pp. 121–30) on the existence of a distinct law school at Mantua around 1160 and several studies dedicated to the history of doctrine, including Laurent Mayali's (pp. 161–75) on the nature of conjugal union according to the biblical formula, "duo erunt in carne una"; Chris Coppens's (pp. 177–91) on how French decretists invoked Roman *leges* against Church law and in support of local custom; and Emanuele Conte's (pp. 193–212) on twelfth-century jurists who cited imperial Roman law in favor of municipal autonomy, yet against the emperor of their own day. The book is successful in taking readers to Dolezalek's world of Western legal manuscripts before 1600.

Fordham University WOLFGANG MUELLER

Bollandistes saints et légendes: Quatre siècles de recherche. By Robert Godding, Bernard Joassart, Xavier Lequeux, François de Vriendt, and Joseph van der Straeten. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2007. Pp. iv, 179. €49,00. ISBN 978-2-873-65020-9.)

Four hundred years ago, the Belgian Jesuit Heribert Rosweyde undertook one of the greatest feats of theological and historical scholarship since the Middle Ages. He planned a systematic investigation of the saints to provide the definitive account of their lives. His work would not merely be insipid hagiographies of clichéd supernatural feats and divine interventions, complete with angels' arias and golden, dinner-plate aureolae. Rather, he would research each saint in the manuscript collections of monastic libraries and provide a thorough account of the saint's life, deeds—both documented and legendary—feast-day celebrations, iconography, and controversies. At the time of his death, he had published little, but his idea did not die with him. Another Jesuit, Jean Bolland, assumed work on the project and founded the Bollandists, who would dedicate themselves to fulfilling Rosweyde's goal and serve as members of the oldest scientific society in Belgium. This album, written in honor of the 400th anniversary of Rosweyde's initial undertaking, commemorates the contributions of the Jesuit founders and their successors to history and the historiography of the saints.

In the wake of the Reformation, the Tridentine Church sought to answer the criticisms of Protestants who accused Catholics of excess and idolatry in their devotion to the saints. Rosweyde and later Bolland wanted to defend the

saints by demonstrating that documentary evidence and tradition supported the cults of these exemplary men and women. As members of the new priestly order dedicated to intellectual rigor, they applied historical methodology and critical analysis to their work, collecting manuscripts, deciphering differing accounts, and dealing at times with a lack of information, even about revered saints. In the process, the Bollandists traveled throughout Europe collecting data and corresponding with the members of other orders, their fellow ecclesiastics, and the laity.

This book provides not just the history of the Bollandists and their work but also some description of the interference and controversies that accompanied this project. From the beginning it had its critics. Because of the intensely personal devotion that some saints inspired, an academic analysis of their lives might not be welcomed. There also were the external events—such as the Napoleonic occupation of the Low Countries and the two world wars—that interrupted their work, but despite these events, a small number of individuals (only between two and five at any given period) continued the work of Rosweyde and Bolland, making the society one of the most prestigious scholarly organizations within the Church.

This quadricentennial book briefly recounts the history of the Bollandists and also addresses the history of devotion to the saints in general. It highlights some of the chief accomplishments of this group of scholars and reproduces images from the Bollandists' extensive manuscript collection. Although this may not be the definitive work on the Bollandists or even the most academic, it provides a serviceable general overview and basic bibliography of the subject. As an illustrated commemorative volume, it succeeds in presenting a memorial and a history of the historians of the saints.

Lourdes College MARY KATHRYN COONEY-ROBINSON
Sylvania, Ohio

Pio XII: Eugenio Pacelli. Un uomo sul trono di Pietro. By Andrea Tornielli. (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori. 2007. Pp. 661. €24,00. ISBN 978-8-804-57010-3.)

"Who was Eugenio Pacelli…?" Thus Andrea Tornielli launches his biography of Pope Pius XII. A "vaticanologist" and contributor to the Italian newspaper *Il Giornale*, Tornielli attempts to rescue Pacelli from many of what he considers unfair judgments; that the pope was a "centralizer"; that he was "isolated and aloof"; that he was "cold, unfeeling, detached, cowardly, obsessed with the Communist danger"; and that he was either weak in the face of the Nazi dictatorship or that he was devious in his dealings with it. Using both published works and newly released documents and depositions taken from his beatification process, particularly interesting letters between Eugenio and his brother, Francesco, Tornielli develops a sympathetic case. Pacelli emerges as a real and reasonable person who must deal as best he can with the world

around him. To add to his political concerns, for example, in 1926 Pacelli confided to Francesco his fears of stomach cancer. That is the strength of Tornielli's book. This is, after all, a biography that has claims to a readership much broader than the scholarly community. Unfortunately, Francesco died in 1935, or on page 253, and Tornielli loses a good source. He supports much of the rest of the work on his strength as a polemicist. In this the author takes sides in the ongoing debate over Pius's conduct in World War II and casts his lot with the "defenders." This attempt to redress the balance, however, has its limits, and his lively and provocative arguments push *Pio XII* past the boundaries of conventional scholarly treatment. At one point he even reveals a frustration in the contrasting and stereotyped images of "Pacelli 'cattivo'" and "Ratti 'buono'" (p. 175); emphasizing that Pius XI acknowledged to the French ambassador his agreement with Hitler's anti-Bolshevik stance. Tornielli, furthermore, vehemently denies the accusations of a "certa pubblicista" that Pacelli "sold" the German Center Party to the Nazis as part of the deal over the 1933 Concordat.

Tornielli has already published extensively on Pacelli and the Holocaust and, in this biography, stresses that tensions surfaced early between the pontiff and the National Socialists. Caught in Weimar's ideological cauldron, for instance, Pacelli's suspicions distinguish an early, 1923 letter to Cardinal Gasparri that lamented Nazi attacks on the Catholic clergy. Tornielli recounts how, after the Lateran Pacts, Pacelli returned to Rome as secretary of state and found new battles with Italian fascism and, later, Hitler's regime. The author devotes a chapter to the "seventy useless protests" delivered by the Holy See to Berlin between 1933 and 1937. Many of these complaints, however, dealt with holding Nazi rallies on Sundays or with details on religious education. More profound is Pius's anguish over Nazi brutality and murder during World War II. Here Tornielli's attention to the personal tells a more convincing story. After 1945 the cold war enabled Pius to focus on the Communist threat. Tornielli, however, is careful not to overplay Pius's anti-Communism, which he locates "probably . . . at the root of the 'black legend' of his inexistent philonazism" (p. 481). Such passages, again, call into question the author's scholarly detachment and lead the student to investigate other sources on Pius's life. Philippe Chenaux's recent and less polemical *Pie XII,* in particular, will be translated from French into Italian but, to this reviewer's knowledge, awaits an English treatment. A comparison between Tornielli's and Chenaux's books may favor the latter.

The University of Scranton ROY DOMENICO

The Regensburg Lecture. By James V. Schall, S.J. (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 174. $20.00. ISBN 978-1-587-31695-1.)

Was it prudent for Pope Benedict XVI to include in his lecture at the University of Regensburg on September 12, 2006, the quotation from a

Byzantine emperor challenging his Persian interlocutor in 1391 to show him anything Mohammed brought that was new save "things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached"? The answer to this question depends on how one defines prudence. The Scripture scholar John L. McKenzie, who died in 1991, said that for many Catholics "prudence has long been, not the virtue by which one discerns the Christian thing to do, but the virtue by which one finds sound reason for evading the Christian thing to do. I have never read of any martyr who, if he or she had the course in Christian prudence which I had in the seminary, could not have evaded martyrdom with a good conscience."[1]

The English historian and journalist Paul Johnson, whose radar screen has yet to register prudence, wrote shortly after the lecture was delivered:

> . . . The Muslim fundamentalists who came out on the streets foaming at the mouth, shouting and screaming abuse, and who in Africa murdered a harmless and innocent nun, did not read the lecture or have the faintest idea what it was all about. Nor did Western journalist critics who joined in the abuse. In fact, the lecture is a cool, calm, well-documented and penetrating presentation of the case for reason occupying the center of religious life, which argues that its absence, as in Islam, is a fatal weakness. No educated and sensible person who reads it could possibly complain that it is polemical, bigoted, or emotionally hostile to Islam. Indeed, the murder of the poor nun exactly proves the Pope's point about what is wrong with Islam.[2]

Whether Benedict would be grateful for this robust defense one cannot say. His secretary, Msgr. Georg Gänzwein, said over a year later that the hostile reaction in the Muslim world surprised the pope. "We only heard of the crude reactions after we'd gotten back to Rome." Gänzwein ascribed them to "newspaper reports which took one quote out of context and presented it as the Pope's personal opinion."[3] In a footnote to the published version of the lecture, included by Schall in this book, Benedict expresses his "hope that the reader of my text can see immediately that [the disputed quotation] does not express my personal view of the Qur'an, for which I have the respect due to the holy book of a great religion" (p. 147, n. 3).

Much of Schall's analysis of the lecture will be heavy going for nonphilosophers. But the book contains much for which one can only be grateful. "Something was said here that no one else had been saying. . . . This lecture is one of the fundamental tractates of our time. It is almost the first that

[1]Qtd. in Emmanuel James McCarthy, "In Appreciation of a Catholic Scholar," *America* (May 18, 1991), 534–35, at 535.

[2]"Thank God for a Wise, Truth-telling Pope," *The Spectator* (April 14, 2007), <http://www.spectator.co.uk/the-magazine/cartoons/29014/part_3/thank-god-for-a-wise-truthtelling-pope.thtml>.

[3]Qtd. in *Zenit*, July 27, 2007.

really understands the fuller dimensions of what our time is intellectually about." The pope's defense of reason was courageous, Schall writes, in a day when university lectures "about the truth of Christianity and what it holds, even in Catholic universities, are greeted with claims that they violate 'multiculturalism' or 'toleration' or 'freedom'. . . . As the Pope's first encyclical might be called 'Deus est *agape,*' so this lecture is 'Deus est *logos*'" (p. 123).

Without the offending quotation, the lecture "might have quietly disappeared in spite of its penetrating analysis of Western intellectual culture" (p. 23). One is grateful to Schall, finally, for rescuing from oblivion Hilaire Belloc's prediction in 1938 "that should Islam ever again acquire the power, it would continue on its earlier conquests"—words that Schall finds "in retrospect rather prophetic" (p. 74).

Archdiocese of St. Louis JOHN JAY HUGHES

Pedro Arrupe: Un uomo per gli altri. Edited by Gianni La Bella. [Santa Sede e politica nel Novecento, 5.] (Bologna: Società Editrice Il Mulino. 2007. Pp. 1084. €55,00. ISBN 978-8-815-11506-5)

The year 2007 marked the centenary of the birth of Pedro Arrupe, superior general of the Society of Jesus from 1965 until 1983, the year in which, severely impaired by a stroke, he resigned. His years as general immediately after the Second Vatican Council were tumultuous for the Church and for the Jesuits. Arrupe, caught in the middle of them, met with distrust from the Holy See and with fierce resistance from a small but influential number of Jesuits. The result was that in 1981 Pope John Paul II directly intervened into the procedures of the Society by appointing his own delegate to run the order until an appropriate time could be found to restore the ordinary government of the Society.

Most Jesuits, however, enthusiastically supported Arrupe during his generalate and developed a deep affection for him because of his winning personality and his obviously deep spirituality. Support for him surged in 1981 at the time of the papal intervention. Since his death in 1991 esteem for him on the part of both Jesuits and others has grown to veneration, and one hears individuals expressing hope for his canonization. The centenary year was observed with conferences and other commemorative events around the globe, which included the production by Georgetown University of an excellent documentary film on his life (available on DVD from the Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis).

The present, massive volume edited by Gianni La Bella, professor of Contemporary History at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, is probably the most lasting contribution to the centenary. I approached it with prejudice, fearing that as a centenary volume, it would be an uncritical encomium.

I felt my fears confirmed when I saw that some of the contributors to the volume had been collaborators with Arrupe in the government of the order. The fears were misplaced. The volume is certainly appreciative of Arrupe and not innocent of a few pious asides. In the main, however, it is a remarkably thorough and honest account of a career important not only for the Society of Jesus but particularly as illuminating the broader picture of Catholicism in the immediate postconciliar era.

The volume consists of twenty-seven contributions, ranging in length from the 124 pages of Urbano Valero's account of the Thirty-First General Congregation of the Jesuits, 1965–66, at which Arrupe was elected, to the ten pages by Michael Campbell-Johnston on the Jesuit Refugee Service, which Arrupe founded. After Valero's, the next longest contribution is by Alfonso Álvarez Bolado on the Thirty-Second General Congregation, 1974–75, called by Arrupe in part as an occasion to assess the direction he was giving the Society. The congregations deserve the space allotted to them. Ten contributions deal with Arrupe's relationship to different parts of the world—Africa, Latin America, Central America, and so forth. A few of the remaining contributions are strictly biographical, such as his years as a missionary in Japan and his final years in the Jesuit infirmary, but most of them deal with general themes, such as his style of governing, his commitment to social justice, and his way of dealing with the problem of the large number of Jesuits leaving the Society.

In such a comprehensive volume the quality of the contributions is bound to vary, but La Bella has maintained a high standard. As to be expected, the more incisive pieces are those by trained scholars, such as Jean-Yves Calvez on "Cultura, Vangelo, e dialogo." The top prize goes to La Bella himself—for his introduction, which is a brisk and judicious review of events and issues, and then for his long contribution on Arrupe and the "severe crisis" of the Society, that is, the growing tensions and misunderstandings during the 1970s between the Holy See and the Jesuits' central government under Arrupe. La Bella, it is worth noting, had access to the minutes of the meetings of Arrupe with his "Assistants" during these years.

It is sad that this important but very long volume, entirely in Italian, is unlikely to appear in an English-language translation. It is also too bad that its usefulness to scholars is made more difficult by one of those almost useless, computer-generated indexes—I count, for instance, about 115 page references for Paul VI without subheadings. There is, moreover, no understanding Arrupe's leadership without taking into account the brilliant Assistants who worked with him—men like Calvez, Vincent O'Keefe, Horacio de la Costa, Cecil McGarry, and Parmananda Divarkar. Unfortunately, the sources do not readily yield evidence about their crucial role, and for that reason, I assume, the volume does not develop the theme. My final word, however, to Gianni La Bella and his contributors is a resounding bravo for a difficult job well done.

Georgetown University JOHN W. O'MALLEY, S.J.

Servants of the Poor: Teachers and Mobility in Ireland and Irish America. By Janet Nolan. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 191. $45.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-268-03659-7; $18.00 paperback, ISBN 978-0-268-03660-9.)

Janet Nolan, in *Servants of the Poor: Teachers and Mobility in Ireland and Irish America*, examines the role single women played in the education and upward mobility of women in Ireland and the United States. In particular, Nolan focuses on public education and the critical part female teachers played in advancement of the Irish immigrant population in cities such as Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Nolan's own family history in part inspired this study. Her parents were educators in Massachusetts and elsewhere, and their stress of the importance of education propelled the author to her own career in higher education. It also inspired Nolan to consider similar sentiments among generations of female immigrants from Ireland. Her family was not unique. Her study is also transatlantic. She traces the development of the national education system in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century, including the struggles for equal employment opportunities for female teachers. In the perilous economic and political conditions in Ireland, girls profited from continuing their education. Those who entered the teaching profession provided the means of support for themselves and their extended families.

Opportunity motivated single women to leave Ireland and migrate to the United States. The immigration of single Irish women alone to the United States is not new territory for historians. Scholars have shown how daughters migrated for economic reasons to support families. What makes Nolan's study unique is that she builds on these elements of family support to show that female education benefited the larger Irish immigrant community. The thousands of young women who graduated from the Irish school system and the Normal Schools in the United States became teachers in public schools in cities such as Boston, San Francisco, and Chicago. Once in these roles, women instructed future generations of immigrants and Irish Americans. Nolan shows that in these cities, Irish teachers taught in public school where larger numbers of Irish American children attended. The American Catholic church by the second half of the nineteenth century, however, stressed the parish school over public education. While this is true in many cities, Nolan's focus on Boston, San Francisco, and Chicago highlights the manner in which Irish female teachers staffed public schools. Equally important, they occupied crucial seats on school boards as in the case of Julia Harrington Duff in Boston. They fought sexism and anti-Irish sentiments in hiring practices in Chicago and in San Francisco, and worked for all teachers as they championed the cause of teachers' unions. Nolan credits this activism to the same respect for education that motivated female teachers to fight sexism in Ireland. Furthermore, Nolan argues that the upward mobility of Irish immigrants and their Irish American children into the middle class in the United States had as

much to do with female teachers in public schools as it had to do with the success of Irish men in business and politics. Although not always successful in their efforts to advance the position of Irish in America as teachers, on school boards, or within the larger American society, education, Nolan argues, invariably proved an asset.

Nolan's last chapter deals with the legacy of teaching, passed from one generation to the next, including mothers to sons. At this point, the author returns to her own family's history. She began her study by informing her readers of her own family's generational dedication to the profession of teaching. Nolan examines, among others, her father's effort throughout the Great Depression to obtain an education, ultimately graduating from Salem Teachers' College in 1935, and support his family as a teacher. One might construe Nolan's personal connection to her subject as a liability. Her frank treatment of her family's place within the larger history, however, allays any concerns the reader might have regarding her biases. By connecting the larger history to the reality of her own family's experiences, enhanced by photographs from her personal collection, Nolan brings the history to life. Nolan's *Servants of the Poor* consequently would make an excellent addition to any women's or immigrant history course.

Purdue University North Central MARY BETH FRASER CONNOLLY

Fuentes primarias para la historia de la educación de la mujer en Europa y América. Archivos Históricos Compañía de María Nuestra Señora, 1921–1936. By Pilar Foz y Foz, O.D.N., with the collaboration of Asunción Artajo, O.D.N., and Eugenia Abad, O.D.N. Vol. 2. (Vatican City: Tipografía Poliglota Vaticana. 2006. Pp. xlvi, 1174. ISBN 978-8-492-15747-1.)

This weighty volume, a history of the Order of the Company of Mary (the first religious order dedicated to female education) from 1921 to 1936 and a catalogue of its archives for the same period, was nineteen years in preparation. It follows volume 1, published in 1989, which covered the years from 1606 to 1921. The organizational and, no doubt, political challenges faced by its primary author/compiler, M. Pilar Foz y Foz, herself a sister in the Company as well as its archivist, were formidable; but the result is a rich, valuable resource not just for historians of women, education, and monasticism but also for historians of the Church and its relations with civil society and government.

The first 400 pages of the volume, which give historical context to the archival descriptions that follow, constitute a book inside a book. At first glance these pages appear to be a standard chronicle of the order from the early-twentieth century to just before World War II. But on closer examination they are much more than that. The order expanded in the nineteenth century as education for women took on new importance. The order's founder, Juana de Lestonnac, had envisioned a centralized order similar to that of the Jesuits,

but the pope's authorization for the order set its houses under the authority of the bishops. Various attempts were made over the centuries to centralize, but they were resisted for one reason or another. From 1900, however, a schism involving the forces for centralization versus those for autonomy posed great complications for the order.

The perceived need for centralization grew stronger and finally, in 1921, the founder's centralizing vision came to fruition, with sixty-four houses joining the new union versus thirty-one that chose to remain autonomous. Tensions did not cease with the Decreto de Unión of 1921—and nine houses later left the union to become autonomous—as resistance to centralization and the effects of war, depression, and persecution manifested themselves. The effects of 1921, then, continued to reverberate for well over a decade, as M. Foz y Foz's textured narrative makes clear. The author is politic but unflinching in laying out the difficulties that the order faced during this period, when arguments for either autonomous houses or a centralized "union" were made as the most effective instrument for surviving political attacks, severe budget cuts, and national crises.

Presentation of the complications and changes of nomenclature of this period is quite a challenge, but the author's choices are clear and if not quite self-explanatory, then easy to comprehend once the history of the period is understood. Part 2 catalogues the archives of the autonomous houses. The amount of material varies quite considerably from house to house, but some are very rich, especially Bogotá (Colombia), Vergara, Santander, and Valladolid. Part 3 catalogues the archive of the "Casa Generalicia," the main house. A very short part 4 concerns the special case of the house in Bordeaux. Part 5 deals with the archives of the "provinces" and "vice-provinces" that were created in the centralization process. During this period there were two French provinces, two Spanish provinces, and vice-provinces in Mexico (also including Cuba and the United States), Argentina-Chile (also including Brazil), and Italy. The archives are classified according to a uniform organizational scheme, which makes them mutually intelligible. Most have significant material concerning the governance of the houses (dealings with municipal officials, correspondence with other houses, elections, and so forth) and their day-to-day operations, including their teaching responsibilities (petitions from parents, notes on individual students, and so on). There are excellent indices and appendices with various charts and lists.

For many scholars, this would be a life's work. Pilar Foz y Foz, who died less than a year after the publication of this volume, was a noted historian of the Order of Mary in New Spain and the author of several scholarly books and numerous articles even before she undertook this monumental two-volume project, so it cannot be said that this single volume was her crowning glory. But it is certainly a fitting epitaph for a fine historian.

University of California, Berkeley MARGARET CHOWNING

Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition. Edited by Richard M. Golden. Four volumes. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO. 2006. Pp. xxxvi, 1238; index 35. $485.00. ISBN 978-1-576-07243-6.)

Publication of this ambitious reference work represents a significant contribution to the study of European witchcraft. There are, to be sure, precedents: reference works by Rossell Hope Robbins (1959), Venetia Newall (1974), Rosemary Guiley (1989), and Michael Bailey (2003). None of these is so extensive as Golden's project, and none draws so lavishly on the expertise of the international scholarly community, giving summary expression to the last quarter-century of historical research.

The articles on particular historical topics are on the whole exceptionally good: for example, Edward Peters on Agobard of Lyons, Nicolas Eymeric (unfortunately Claudia Heimann's 2001 monograph is not mentioned), and John of Salisbury; Martine Ostorero on Hans Fründ and the diocese of Lausanne; Rolf Schulte on Jean Gerson (but with perhaps too little sense of Gerson's particular interest in clerical necromancy); Christa Tuczay on Johann Hartlieb and Johannes Trithemius; and Michael Bailey on John XXII and Johannes Nider. Particularly magisterial are Wolfgang Behringer's lengthy articles on the *Malleus maleficarum* and on the *Vaudois*, the latter surveying the link between witchcraft and heresy. A few might have benefited from further work: the article on Joan of Arc does leave an imprecise impression of the role that witchcraft played in the proceedings and conviction, and the treatment of Alice Kyteler might have a clearer sense of context if Maeve Callan's dissertation on Irish trials for witchcraft and magic (unpublished yet accessible) had been consulted.

Articles on the basic categories and methods for the study of witchcraft stand out as particularly worth consulting. Edward Bever's long article on "magic and religion," a challenging topic, gives quite a good account not only of the ways magic has related to religion in the history of Judaism and Christianity but also (drawing heavily on Graham Cunningham) the schools of modern thought regarding this classic distinction. Robin Briggs gives a reasonable summary of the "acculturation thesis" and a reasoned critique of Robert Muchembled's use of that thesis to explain the rise of witch-hunting. Any reader wanting deeper understanding of the witch trials should seek out the contributions by William Monter: his article on "acquittals" distinguishes five categories of outcome other than conviction and indicates the circumstances in which each was likely to occur; and his discussion of "sources for witchcraft trials" not only surveys the published and archival sources but also shows how different types of documents yield important results. While useful in the context of this encyclopedia, these articles provide new syntheses and might just as well have been published independently.

A few of the articles deal with broad themes that do not lend themselves easily to clear delineation. The writers of these pieces were perhaps given

impossible assignments, destined to lead them into vague collections of random observations and strung together with an unspecific past tense that points to no particular historical period. The article on cats gathers what seem to be random manifestations of cat phobia, oddly missing William Baldwin's *Beware the Cat* and English material in general. The discussion of love magic makes only cursory citation of historical contexts at the end. The same issues arise in the discussion of natural magic, where formative writers such as William of Auvergne are neglected. The discussion of "popular beliefs in witches" again appears largely random, with much emphasis on the need for further research.

There is some duplication and overlapping of material. An article on "courts, inquisitorial" is followed by entries on "inquisition." There are separate articles on "bewitchment," "*maleficium*," and "sorcery"—terms that, as used here, mean largely the same thing. Bailey's article on the origins of the witch hunts, valuable in itself, might have been merged with Brial Levack's equally excellent survey of the chronology of witchcraft trials; both give not only periodization but also a differentiated set of causal factors for distinct periods. To some extent the same could be said of the articles on "invocations," "learned magic" (which gives rather short shrift to the twelfth century), "necromancy," and "ritual magic."

It may seem surprising to find significant omissions in a four-volume compilation, but there are. Perhaps most surprisingly, canon law is underrepresented. Catherine Rider's recent book on magically induced impotence studies the interactions of canon law, theology, and medicine, but there is little focused attention to any of these disciplines in this encyclopedia. Tellingly, the volumes consistently make the common but odd mistake of changing "the canon *Episcopi*" into "the *Canon Episcopi*," which is like citing "the *Novel War and Peace*." A minor error, perhaps, but one that would not be made if that canon were viewed in its proper context, with respect for the relevant conventions. Still, this encyclopedia is a major publishing achievement.

Northwestern University RICHARD KIECKHEFER

Ancient

Paul, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Early Church. By James W. Aageson. [Library of Pauline Studies.] (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers. 2008. Pp. xvi, 235. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-598-56041-1.)

James Aageson's engaging book examines the ways various groups within the early Church developed and utilized differing images of Paul. Rejecting the notion that only Gnostics and others on the fringe of the developing Church accepted Paul as an authority, he shows how various early Christian writers used both their image of Paul and Paul's letters as sources for their theological positions. Aageson's method is to compare the patterns and structures of the

thought and theology of individual writings, rather than identifying features of the tradition and comparing each text to that synthetic structure.

Using this method, Aageson concludes that 2 Timothy was either written by someone other than the author of 1 Timothy and Titus or that the situation it addressed was so different that it required a significant reorientation of thought. He also finds diverse patterns of thought in the manners in which Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement of Rome, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen develop their images of Paul and use Pauline texts. Aageson's analysis of how the *Acts of Paul* constructs and uses its image of Paul undermines the notion that this work simply opposes the line of tradition the Pastorals represent by showing that in some ways, it stands close to the image of Paul in 2 Timothy, while in others, it opposes the outlook of 1 Timothy and Titus.

Aageson demonstrates clearly that the church fathers did not belong to a monolithic tradition of developing orthodoxy that demanded conformity; rather, they drew on a range of developing trends, trends that sometimes stood in tension with one another. Christians such as those who wrote the *Acts of Paul* drew on some of the same trajectories, even as they interpreted them differently and used their image of Paul to advocate alternative views. Still, most recognized Paul as an authority and by the third century drew on his writings as authoritative.

The complexity Aageson uncovers shows that no simple model of conflict or separate trajectories sufficiently accounts for what we find in early Christian writings. Neither can models that assume movement from orthodoxy to heresy, or the reverse, explain the differences and commonalities in the theological structures and thought of these works. Aageson suggests a "multiplex" approach that recognizes commonality and tension within a shared tradition that contains competing elements and makes competing uses of common materials.

Readers will disagree with some specifics of Aageson's interpretation of individual texts, but such disagreements do not undermine his comparisons or his method of comparison. One might also ask for a larger and more diverse comparative base, but the series in which the book appears limits its length, as well as its explicit exchange with the scholarly literature on the works it does treat. These quibbles do not, however, significantly weaken Aageson's convincing case for acknowledging the complexity of the development of the Church's theology, ecclesiology, and ethic through the third century and the resultant need to move beyond the oppositional models that many still use to interpret the theological differences present in the early Church.

Lexington Theological Seminary JERRY L. SUMNEY

The Early Christian Book. Edited by William E. Klingshirn and Linda Safran. [CUA Studies in Early Christianity] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 314; 28 plates. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21486-3.)

This volume collects twelve papers delivered at a conference held in June 2002 at The Catholic University of America. The revised papers, divided into six pairs dealing with topics ranging from the physical form of books to literary theory, are preceded by a helpful introduction by Philip Rousseau. The papers deal with a still underdeveloped area of inquiry: the physical form and cultural implications of the book as created, used, and imagined by early Christians, from the third to the seventh centuries of our era. The topic is both timely and genuinely important. Over the last few decades, scholars in a variety of fields have produced a substantial literature on the history of reading and the book. Relatively little work has been done, however, on books and reading in early Christianity—for all that the new faith was, as the preface to this volume notes, "quintessentially a religion of books" (p. ix).

The Early Christian Book comprises papers written from a dazzling array of perspectives, by scholars with varying disciplinary affiliations and at all stages of their careers, including several who were still completing the doctoral degree at the time of writing. Unsurprisingly—as in the case of so many collections of conference papers—the quality of the contributions varies. The end result, therefore, is more suggestive than definitive: the book's influence will follow more from the questions it raises than from the answers it gives.

Some of the less successful contributions share common weaknesses. Constant reference to a limited canon of secondary works produced within the field of early Christian studies sometimes gives the volume a hermetic quality. Correspondingly, the rich body of relevant literature produced by historians and critics working on other periods is at times neglected (but see the article by Mark Vessey, p. 250, n.25, for a summary of key references). Reliance on a narrow evidence base also makes some of the same papers less convincing. Finally, the balance between papers dealing with the book as material object and those addressing primarily literary issues perhaps falls too heavily toward the latter.

Many of the articles, however, make substantial contributions—too many even to list here. Particularly impressive are John Lowden on the early Christian codex, specifically on book covers and their liturgical function; Claudia Rapp on books as holy objects, placing "Holy Scripture," and potentially also hagiography, alongside the "Holy Man" at the center of late-antique Christianity; and Mark Vessey's rather oracular concluding essay "Theory, or the Dream of the Book (Mallarmé to Blanchot)." This last is a new departure, in that it reads formative moments in modern literary history and in the history of modern literary theory through the lens of patristic texts, rather than the other way around.

Both the volume's editors and the individual contributors are to be commended for taking on a vast, fascinating, and relatively unexplored area of research and for pioneering a range of different approaches to what will surely become a major focus of investigation for scholars of early Christianity. Although the individual articles are of somewhat uneven quality, the volume as a whole—unlike so many in its genre—is a resounding success.

San Francisco State University MEGAN HALE WILLIAMS

The Sex Lives of Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography. By Virginia Burrus. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 216. $22.50 paperback. ISBN 978-0-812-22020-9.)

Saving Shame: Martyrs, Saints, and Other Abject Subjects. By Virginia Burrus. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 195. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24044-3.)

With *Saving Shame* (2007) and *Sex Lives of Saints* (2004), Virginia Burrus has added two fascinating studies of early Christian literature to an already remarkable repertoire. Refusing the ascetic strictures of positivistic historiography, Burrus pursues the pleasure of texts and encourages readers to do the same. Drawing on psychoanalytic, literary, feminist, queer, and/or postcolonial theory, her newest monographs find in ancient Christianity rich sources for reflection on desire and shame. In *Sex Lives*, Burrus points to the lavishly erotic character of Christian ascetic writings: these linger over honey-dipped youths, plunging swords, glowing brides, caressed feet, and bejeweled harlots, resisting desire, as she argues, only by repeatedly and ecstatically pursuing it. "Seduction," in her estimation, is "the very wager of all theology," as saints romance God, and God romances the saint in return (p. 159). In *Saving Shame*, Burrus reconsiders the productive potentialities of shame, chief among them the "possibility of love" (p. xii). Never simply destructive, Burrus argues, shame provides opportunities for resistance, opening, vulnerability, and encounter, which lead ultimately to God. Recognizing the redemptive potential of shame, early Christians sought divine grace by courting *dis*grace: flaunting their marked, exposed, and feminized bodies, reveling in broken, torn, and penetrated flesh, and displaying their abject corporeality. Rather than refusing either desire or shame, Burrus avers, Christians enthusiastically embraced both.

Burrus's already highly acclaimed *Sex Lives of Saints* begins with a reflection on Michel Foucault's description of "so-called Christian morality." Simultaneously undermining and reproducing a phallic subjectivity already in place, Foucault argued that late-antique Christians set the stage for modern sexuality by transforming sex into discourse. Desire, it would seem, must be confessed. It is this ambiguity that Burrus sets out to explore in *Sex Lives*. As she explains, her interest lies neither in the Christian sacralization of

monogamy nor in its heterosexist focus on reproduction as the *telos* of sex, but rather in the erotics of the ascetic Christian pursuit of desire. This pursuit, she explains, destabilizes gender, queers genre, and disrupts difference, all in surprising ways.

Jerome's hagiographical writings serve as Burrus's starting point. Rereading the *Life of Paul*, the Letter to Eustochius, and the *Life of Hilarion*, she observes that the scholar-monk offers "queer bait" to his audience. In her account, Hieronymian sublimation, when viewed from the perspective of Freudian sublimation (as reinterpreted by Leo Bersani), reveals not a rejection of desire, but a homoerotic disruption of fixed subjectivity that challenges the very notion of a bounded self. The next chapter turns to writings about female saints, observing that the male authors of these *Lives* regularly begin from the vantage point of death: the women "live" in these lives only by dying. Yet even here the fundamental inversion of gender remains a key theme—the limp swords of executioners fail to penetrate without the guiding hand of a woman, Macrina is described by her brother as a "man," and Monica refuses to be dominated, even by her famous son. The third chapter revisits the homoerotics of hagiography, a topic first raised in chapter 1, this time by presenting a postcolonial reconsideration of the *Life of Martin of Tours*. In Burrus's reading, the "native" saint of Gaul—unkempt, unruly, and yet fully in control—serves as an erotically charged figure who troubles both gender and the totalizing desires of empire. Martin's hypermasculinity finds its counterpart in the hyperfemininity of the holy harlots, the topic of the final chapter. Here Burrus challenges the view that prostitute saints were inevitably or exclusively symbols of an innately female depravity. Just as the soldier-saint exceeds mere masculinity, the holy harlot exceeds fixed femininity, masquerading as a man by becoming more of a woman. Drawing on the work of Luce Irigaray and Jean Baudrillard, Burrus finds in these saints examples of the triumph of "sublime seduction." As such, they reveal the enticing spectacle of a harlot/God who will not be contained.

After recuperating desire as a central metaphor of late-ancient Christian theology, Burrus turns in *Saving Shame* to the "outing" of shame as a fundamental ethical and theological resource. Beginning with an introduction to psychoanalytic definitions of shame, she encourages scholars of antiquity to move beyond anthropological models, which have described shame as a feature of an ancient Mediterranean honor-shame culture, gradually overtaken by a newly Christian culture of guilt. This model is overly simplistic, Burrus argues, projecting modern guilt sensibilities onto ancient Christians, while also failing to account for pre-Christian transformations within what was an already heterogeneous Roman culture. Moreover, if shame arises out of the relation of the self to itself, as psychoanalysts have argued, then shame is a fact of human existence rather than a cultural characteristic that can, or should, be relinquished. Shame must be taken seriously, Burrus insists, including the shame courted by ancient Christians.

Early Christian shamelessness—a posture that at once resists and pursues shame—is demonstrated first by a rereading of the literature of martyrdom. Christian martyrologists, Burrus suggsts, recognized what Julia Kristeva and Eve Sedgwick would note some two thousand years later: identity is at the heart of shame. Shown tortured in the arena simply because they claimed the identity *Christian*, martyrs worked to shame those who would shame them, thereby rendering their identity visible. Shame, however, is a theological as well as performative category, as Burrus shows in the next chapter. Reveling in the fleshy abjection of Christ, early Christian theologians exposed the humiliating immensity of human need by playing on both the shame of carnality and the lure of transcendence. The Word, it would seem, is always shamelessly becoming flesh. Adopting Emmanuel Levinas's association of selfhood, bodily existence, and shame in the next chapter, Burrus goes on to examine the Christian celebration of physical decay. The "very fact of having a body" serves for Levinas and for Christian ascetics as an occasion for profound reflections on the humiliating corporality and inherent interdependence of human lives.

The final chapter returns once again to Foucault's discussion of Christian confession, the topic with which *Sex Lives* began. For Foucault, the Christian requirement that the truth about the self be told involves not only a narration of desire but also the mandatory confession of shame: one is obliged, he observed, to bear witness against oneself. Augustine's *Confessions* supplies the paradigmatic example of this phenomenon, although Burrus discusses later confessional literature as well. The necessity of giving an account of oneself, she concludes, offers the opportunity to acknowledge shared human vulnerability. Drawing on the insights of Judith Butler, she notes that, when speaking the truth of the self, the very notion of "self" is rendered unstable, disclosing a shameful failure of a mastery that cannot and will not be achieved.

Unapologetically eclectic and philosophically astute, *The Sex Lives of Saints* and *Saving Shame* present stimulating and creative readings of ancient Christian writings. Initially, Tertullian, Jerome, Athanasius, and the like may appear to be strange bedfellows for those interested in eroticism, queer theory, or feminist retrievals of shame. Burrus, however, has demonstrated that an avowedly revisionist and deliberately provocative approach to patristic writings can be fruitful, especially for theologians, historians, and theorists seeking new ways to read old, beloved texts.

Boston University JENNIFER WRIGHT KNUST

The World of Early Egyptian Christianity: Language, Literature, and Social Context. Essays in Honor of David W. Johnson. Edited by James E. Goehring and Janet A. Timbie. [Catholic University of America Studies in Early Christianity.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 226. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21480-1.)

The world of scholarship on early Egyptian Christianity has been transformed since the beginning of the career of David W. Johnson, S.J., to whom this volume is dedicated. The contributions to the book underscore the importance of Father Johnson's work for the increasing significance of Egypt (especially documents from Egypt that survive in Coptic, Arabic, and Syriac languages) to our larger understanding of late-antique religion.

The volume is divided into two sections. Part 1, "Language and Literature," contains essays by Tito Orlandi on Coptic ecclesiastical history, Mark Sheridan on rhetoric in Coptic sermons, Monica Blanchard on terms used by Cassian and Jerome to deride certain monks, Janet Timbie on the text of one of Shenoute's writings, and Leo Depuydt on the application of Boole's laws of logic to Coptic grammar. Coptic specialists will appreciate the pieces in this section.

Part 2, "Social Context," contains the essays of greatest interest to nonspecialists. The renowned scholar of early Judaism, Daniel Boyarin, contributes the essay "Philo, Origen, and the Rabbis on Divine Speech and Interpretation." He lucidly explores the hermeneutical principles behind Origen's and the Rabbis' interpretations of the Song of Songs. Using Philo and Paul as pivot points, Boyarin argues that for Origen, the Logos' incarnation into human flesh in the form of Jesus "provides . . . the guarantee of Christian allegorical access to truth" (p. 123). Thus, for Origen, "the very process of allegorical interpretation constitutes *in itself and already* a transcendence of the flesh" (p. 124, emphasis in original). The "carnal" and "spiritual" meanings of the divine kiss in the Song of Songs "are actually opposed to each other, as the body is opposed to the soul" (p. 124). This stands in contrast both to Philo, for whom the "fleshly" and "allegorical" meanings operate hand-in-hand, and to Rabbinic midrash, in which "it is that very body, the actual mouth, that experiences God's kiss" at concrete moments in history, such as the crossing of the Red Sea (pp. 125–27). Arguing against previous scholarship, which has asserted that Origen and the Rabbis differ not in hermeneutical theory but in the endpoints of allegorical interpretation, Boyarin insists that differences in interpretation point to differences in theories of language: "In the allegory the metaphors of the language are considered the signs of invisible entities. . . , while in the midrash they are actually spoken love poetry of an erotic encounter" (p. 127). James Goehring provides another chapter in his ongoing work on the memory of the waning days of the Coptic orthodox Pachomian monasteries as transmitted in texts relating to Abraham of Farshut (the last anti-Chalcedonian archimandrite of the Pachomian community at Pbow). In "Keeping the Monastery Clean: A Cleansing Episode from an Excerpt on Abraham of Farshut and Shenoute's

Discourse on Purity," Goehring examines an account of Abraham purifying a meeting place from the pollution that resulted from a visit of the Emperor Justinian's representatives. He argues that the text adapts Shenoute's concepts on physical and spiritual purity into its anti-Chalcedonian polemic, and he concludes that "the inclusion of the cleansing episode . . . creates a framework whereby the ultimate loss of Pbow to the Chalcedonian party corresponds to the spread of pollution through the institution" (p. 175). Textually, the episode "quarantine[s]" the anti-Chalcedonian Pachomian monastery and "reaffirms the dangers of Chalcedon, reinforcing in the process the boundaries of its own orthodoxy" (p. 175). David Frankfurter's piece, "Illuminating the Cult of Kothos: The Panegyric on Macarius and Local Religion in Fifth-Century Egypt," will interest anyone working on the encounters between Christianity and traditional polytheistic religions (whether in Egypt or elsewhere). Frankfurter uses the Panegyric as an opportunity to explore how texts in which "legendary" features or "hagiographical conventions" overwhelm historical information may nonetheless narrate "many authentic aspects and dynamics of local cults" (p. 177). In particular, accounts of villagers' hostility to monks who intrude on their religious piety "to purge the village of heathen images" (p. 187) record genuine tensions in the period in which the text was written. In addition, the rhetoric of the text, which associates traditional religion with child sacrifice, provides evidence for an ongoing religious discourse that dehumanizes the pagan "Other." Part 2 also includes essays by Birger A. Pearson on Egyptian Christianity's roots in Alexandrian Judaism and Gnosticism, Philip Rousseau on philosophical and methodological parallels between the "exegetical strategies" of Pachomian monastic writings and the arrangement of material in the Nag Hammadi codices, and Robin Darling Young on Evagrius's Letter 55 about a monk's interactions with his family.

This volume will be most useful to scholars of late-antique Christianity, including those interested not just in Egypt but also in the intellectual heritage shared between Egypt and the wider Mediterranean and in the interactions between Christians and non-Christians (as well as between different varieties of Christianity).

University of the Pacific CAROLINE T. SCHROEDER

Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe. By Caroline T. Schroeder. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 237. $79.95.) ISBN 978-0-812-23990-4.

In *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe*, a revision of her 2002 Duke University dissertation, Caroline T. Schroeder untangles a number of "bodies" at play in the writings of Shenoute of Atripe (ca. 346/347–465), leader of several monastic congregations near the modern Egyptian city of Sohag. These bodies include Shenoute's discursive construc-

tion of the individual bodies of his fellow monks, their interrelation with the "social body" of his congregation, the interplay of these two bodies with a third body—Shenoute's newly constructed church, and Shenoute's theology of bodily resurrection.

Schroeder examines "the problems and potentials of embodiment" in four chapters by arguing that Shenoute promoted "an ideology of the monastic life centered on the discipline of the body," and "that this ideology lies at the heart of Shenoute's theology, his asceticism, and his style of monastic leadership" (p. 3). In case this seems tautological, Schroeder works on the basis of Michel Foucault's expansive formulation of *askesis*: "the training of the self by the self" (p. 3). Here as elsewhere, Foucault is treated as authoritative.

After an introduction (pp. 1–23), Schroeder presents Shenoute's rise to prominence in his community through a close reading of the two fragmentarily preserved letters in Shenoute's *Canon* 1 (pp. 24–53). Schroeder argues that Shenoute conceives of sin as a polluting agent communicable from person to person. Thus the moral purity of the community is at stake in the bodily discipline of every individual. Her reading effectively shows how such an ideology of the polluting nature of sin could have helped Shenoute justify his rise to power and deposition of the congregation's previous leader. The chapter would have benefited by the inclusion of a translation of the as yet untranslated letters (or choice selections) as an appendix.

In chapter 2 (pp. 54–89) Schroeder looks at select ritual practices reflected in several of Shenoute's *Canons*. Of special importance to Schroeder is that Shenoute's disciplinary language of purity and pollution distinguishes him from other contemporary Egyptian writers. In fact, Schroeder argues, "[T]hey articulate a monastic subjectivity particular to the Shenoutean community" (p. 67). Given the differences in genre and preservation among Shenoute's *Canons* and the *Rules* of Pachomius, and the occasional parallels in purity/pollution language between them (p. 70), a quantitative analysis, controlling for the genre and size of the corpora, would have made Schroeder's impressionistic analysis more convincing. Schroeder ends the chapter by effectively demonstrating how Shenoute links his own illness (described in *Canon* 9) with the spiritual pestilence plaguing his community (which could be further explored by examining Shenoute's more extensive reflections in *Canons* 6 and 8).

In chapter 3 (pp. 90–125) Schroeder examines the construction of a third monastic body, again connected with the bodies of the individual monks and the "social body" of the congregation: Shenoute's church, built under the supervision of Shenoute himself and still standing at Deir Anba Shenouda's monastery near Sohag. Here as in chapter 1, Schroeder shows how Shenoute employs Pauline metaphor (here the body as a temple of God) to enforce monastic discipline in his community. She also compares Shenoute's theological elaboration of the building with parallels in the Pachomian *Paralipomena* and Paulinus of Nola.

In chapter 4 (pp. 126–57) Schroeder turns to the body of Christ and the resurrection body of believers. As in other chapters, Schroeder shows that Shenoute was no intellectually isolated provincial, but was actively engaged in the theological controversies of the day, here adhering to Alexandrian orthodoxy. Schroeder makes much of Shenoute's conflation of the categories *pagans*, *heretics*, and *Jews*. This could have benefited from comparison with Shenoute's contemporaries. So Epiphanius of Salamis (365–403) includes Jewish sects, "barbarians," and pagan philosophies alongside Christian heresies in his *Panarion*.

Monastic Bodies should be of interest to scholars of late antiquity, especially given the relative unfamiliarity of Shenoute's literary corpus. Given that many of the texts on which Schroeder draws are not yet readily available to nonspecialists in modern-language translations, the volume may be of most use at present to those with a scholarly familiarity with the literature and historiography of late-antique Egypt.

University of Hawai'i ANDREW CRISLIP

Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary. By Anna M. Silvas. [Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 83.] (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2007. Pp. xx, 283. $159.00. ISBN 978-9-004-15290-8.)

The career of Gregory of Nyssa finally flourished only after the death of his brother, Basil, the illustrious bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. He inherited some of his brother's theological projects; he attended the ecumenical council at Constantinople in 381, after which the emperor Theodosius named him as an arbiter of orthodoxy in the eastern provinces; and he was invited to consult on ecclesiastical affairs at Constantinople again, in central Asia Minor, at Antioch, and even as far south as Jerusalem and Arabia. During the 380s he published most of his important theological treatises and sermons. But even though Gregory was now probably the most famous and the best connected churchman in the East, regrettably few of his letters have survived.

The sources for the lives and theology of the three great Cappadocian Fathers—Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and their friend Gregory of Nazianzus—include about 640 letters. More than 95 percent of these letters were written by or attributed to Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, while the standard collection of the letters of Gregory of Nyssa includes only thirty letters. Giorgio Pasquali and Pierre Maraval have each published a superb critical edition of Gregory's letters, and there are outstanding translations into French by Maraval and into German by Dörte Teske. In this book Anna Silvas has now provided an excellent English translation of the entire collection.

Silvas's book will be very important for the study of Gregory of Nyssa, for several reasons. First, her translation is accurate and readable. Gregory's longer

letters are especially interesting. In one, he described his prickly rivalry with Helladius, the successor to Basil as the new metropolitan bishop of Caesarea. In another, he explained his hesitations about the importance of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In two letters to the great sophist Libanius, he respectfully noted his own skill in rhetoric. In a letter to the clergy of Nicomedia, he catalogued the virtues required in a new bishop. Another letter was a supplement to his *Life* of his sister Macrina, a celebrated ascetic. In other letters, he described a friend's fabulously extravagant country estate and his own plans to construct a shrine for a martyr. Gregory was inclined to wear his emotions on his sleeve. While Basil tended to be a bit constipated in his letters and Gregory of Nazianzus rather oblique, Gregory of Nyssa was quite fulsome and often very revealing about his personal concerns.

Second, Silvas includes translations of the letters of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus that are addressed to or mention Gregory of Nyssa. Both senior churchmen were frequently a bit perturbed by Gregory's wayward behavior. Basil's comments were often disparaging of his brother's talents, while Gregory of Nazianzus once tried to convince him to renounce his career as a local teacher. In addition, Silvas discusses and translates several additional letters that are not included in Pasquali's and Maraval's editions, but that might be attributed to the authorship of Gregory of Nyssa.

The final attributes are Silvas's extended introduction and the annotations to the translations. In the notes she often follows the lead of Maraval, the best scholar of Gregory of Nyssa in our time. The introduction provides an extended biography that emphasizes in particular Gregory's intermittent association with the monastic settlements of Basil and Macrina in Pontus. Silvas agrees that Gregory had once been married, and she speculates that his wife had died young: "This man has suffered" (p. 23). As his letters make clear, however, thereafter Gregory's new commitment was to his family's involvement in promoting asceticism and a distinctive theological orthodoxy.

University of Michigan RAYMOND VAN DAM

Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making. By Elizabeth A. Castelli. [Gender, Theory, and Religion.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 335. $25.50 paperback. ISBN 978-0-231-12987-9.)

What is perhaps most gratifying about Elizabeth Castelli's rich study of martyrdom is the attention she pays not only to the parallels among constructions of the martyr in early Christian narratives but also to the ambivalences, to the places where Christians disagreed (sometimes even with themselves) over precisely what martyrdom meant and how the martyr should be remembered. Like many scholars who have embraced the cultural turn, Castelli explores this hoary topic not as a set of historical events or figures, but as a dynamic and sometimes paradoxical process of what she calls "memory making." Building

on theories of collective memory associated primarily with Maurice Halbwachs, Castelli argues that Christian authors between the second and fifth centuries contributed to the ethical and gendered constitution of early Christian culture through their representations of martyrs and martyrdoms. Martyrdom, she suggests, provided early Christians with a "useable past," which they (re)shaped into powerful discourses of authority. Through them, Christians not only contested hegemonic (Roman) structures and ideals but also asserted their own privileged status as members of *the* authoritative religion. Yet Castelli's study reaches beyond the chronological boundaries of late antiquity; she is fascinated by the enduring significance of martyrdom in contemporary society, although her fascination is tempered by a stated discomfort with the tendency of many modern Americans to (still) associate violence with truth. Discussing the depiction of Columbine victim Cassie Bernall as a martyr and American responses to September 11, 2001, Castelli suggests in the final chapter and epilogue that martyrdom and memory making remain ongoing cultural projects.

Although Castelli explores some visual representations of martyrdom, the book primarily deals with literary constructions, with special attention given to *ante-pacem* texts. Following a lucid introductory chapter outlining collective memory as a theoretical model for the study of early Christian martyrdom, Castelli dedicates the next four chapters to rhetorical analyses of narratives, explaining how their authors variously appropriated past experiences of martyrdom for the purposes of defining Christian self-sacrifice, spectacle, and society. In chapter 2, for example, she shows how the writers of the pre-Decian martyr *acta* discursively exploited the fluid nature of the Roman legal system, while chapter 3 explores how three historical martyrs fashioned their own public personae as transformed athletes of Christ. Chapter 4 examines Christian responses to the arena and spectacle, with special attention given to gender (a major theme of the book). Chapter 5 looks at the commemorative reproduction of martyrdom through the lens of a single martyr: Thecla. Here Castelli explores the multiple "layers" of Thecla's life and martyrdom through a comparative discussion of the textual and visual representations of Thecla produced in the East between the second and seventh centuries.

For scholars familiar with more positivist approaches to early Christian martyrdom, Castelli's study may seem jarring at first, since she expressly brackets questions regarding "what really happened." Although her rhetorical approach offers a fresh and innovative perspective on what is a seminal subject, she could perhaps have engaged more substantively with the historical communities that mediated these enduring discourses. Why, for example, was the fifth-century author of the *Life of Thecla* concerned to distinguish Thecla's miracles from magic? Why did many Egyptian artifacts bearing Thecla's image telescope her identity as a female martyr, eliding other facets of her history? Surely historical, geographical, and social location influenced the production of collective mem-

ories of early Christian (and modern American) martyrdom. Such criticism, however, hardly negates this book's considerable achievements.

The Ohio State University KRISTINA SESSA

The Roman Revolution of Constantine. By Raymond Van Dam. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 441. $85.00. ISBN 978-0-521-88209-5.)

Appropriately, given its title, this latest book on Constantine begins and ends with the emperor Julian, who was to accuse his uncle of being an "innovator and disturber of ancient laws and custom" (Amm.Marc. 21.10.8). The title pays explicit homage to Sir Ronald Syme on Augustus and to the significance of Syme's model of *Realpolitik* for proper historical scrutiny of the Constantinian "agenda." Van Dam's introduction also invokes the other leading twentieth-century interpreter of Augustus, Paul Zanker, whose focus on the emperor's self-representation points to valuable ways of understanding the historical Constantine. Van Dam rejects the hindsight that sees Christianity alone as "the defining characteristic of his long reign" (p. 10), reflected in the titles of numerous modern books on Constantine; instead, he promises other perspectives that view Christianity as incidental and/or secondary for a ruler who was, first and foremost, a Roman emperor in the long line from Augustus.

This book is by no means (nor does it set out to be) a comprehensive study of Constantine. It is not a biography, nor is it organized in strictly chronological fashion; neither is it confined solely to the period of Constantine. It presents several overlapping themes significant for placing Constantine in the wider context of a late Roman world evolving from the era of the Tetrarchs to the end of the fourth century. The themes are grouped into three sections and take a key ancient text as their starting point (the first two sections in particular amount to an extended historical commentary on the text in question). Section 1 ("A Roman Empire without Rome") focuses on Constantine's famous rescript to the Italian city of Hispellum on the matter of local ceremonies in honor of the imperial family, which Van Dam reads against the background of the empire's center of gravity receding from Rome and central Italy to Gaul, the Balkans, and "new Rome" in the East (he raises the interesting possibility, pp. 53–57, that the petition from Hispellum may have been in hopes of Constantine returning to Italy to celebrate his *tricennalia* in 335–36, and passing close by on the *Via Flaminia* en route to Rome). Van Dam also emphasizes Constantine's single-minded promotion of his second Flavian dynasty as an imperial monopoly (hence his permission for the construction of a new "Flavian" temple at Hispellum: "dynastic succession trumped religion" [p. 126]).

Section 2 ("A Greek Roman Empire") is based on another civic inscription, the record of Constantine's grant of city status to the community of

Orcistus in central Asia Minor. Van Dam helpfully clarifies (pp. 152–55) that what modern books on Constantine tend to conflate into a single text was actually a dossier of several separate documents pointedly arranged on a single pillar to highlight the emperor's generosity. Two main themes for discussion arise from Constantine's "dialogue" with Orcistus. On the significance of religious affiliation in determining imperial decisions, Van Dam is concerned to show (pp. 176–83) that Constantine's statement that "all are said to reside there as supporters of the most holy religion" was not necessarily an exclusive claim to Christianity on the part of the petitioners (although Van Dam's reading of these words as a "description of *themselves*" [emphasis added] overlooks the fact that the phrase is actually Constantine's own, drawn from his letter to the undeniably Christian prefect Ablabius). More important to the success of the petition than religion, in Van Dam's view, was that the citizens of Greek-speaking Orcistus chose to address Constantine in Latin, a fact that leads him to reflect on the cultural implications of a Roman imperial administration now implanted in the midst of the Greek East.

Section 3 ("Emperor and God") again begins from an inscription, a dedication in the apse of the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter in Rome, which praised "the virtues of father and son," and made mysterious use of the terms *auctor* and *genitor*. The disputed interpretation of this text—does the language allude simply to the partnership of Constantine and his son(s) in the construction of the church, or is it invoking Christian debate about the nature of God?—leads Van Dam into extended exploration of the overlap between theology and political ideology. Diocletian's Tetrarchy had already established the use of (pagan) divine terminology to articulate the nature of the imperial college, and soon Christian theologians began to argue about the divine relationship of Father and Son: both strands would contribute to the process of defining and interpreting the new phenomenon of a Christian emperor. Focusing on Eusebius as the principal agent of this process, Van Dam returns to a view (first propounded by G. H. Williams in 1951) that it was the Arian, "subordinationist" version of Christ's relationship to the Father that especially lent itself to Constantinian political ideology ("Eusebius presented an emperor who made sense only in terms of Arian theology" [p. 325]); and he sees the evolution of understanding about the nature of the Christian ruler in subsequent generations, beginning from Athanasius's *Life of Antony*, as the rejection of the Eusebian Constantine in favor of a "Nicene" alternative. This is in danger of becoming too one-sided and monochromatic a picture. For all Eusebius's lofty emphasis on Constantine as the earthly counterpart of Christ, the "logos" of God, the emperor of the *Life of Constantine*—and of Constantine's own documents—remains at the same time the deferential servant of the Church and its bishops (for Van Dam a feature only of later remodeling). Nor should the *Life of Antony* be taken as a necessarily more definitive picture of Christian imperial rule than, say, Athanasius's works of political apology that might be seen to strike a more "Eusebian" note. As Van Dam's first two sections make

clear, the representation of a Roman ruler, Christian or otherwise, was always a multifaceted phenomenon.

University of Durham E. D. HUNT

Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity. By Caroline Humfress. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 344. $150.00. ISBN 978-0-198-20841-9.)

Some scholars have suggested freeing late-antique church history from its orbit around Constantine and his reign. That is easier said than done, when Constantine still enjoys credit for ending the persecutions, summoning the first ecumenical council, and giving bishops legal authority over their own courts. Caroline Humfress, however, shows brilliantly how such a liberated history might appear, by focusing on the practical, mundane ways that religion, law, and politics interacted. Her book is one of the best among recent studies in late Roman law, which will not surprise those who have read her previous essays. It also is of critical and timely importance to the study of bishops—especially the nature of their authority and their place in late Roman society.

In a lucid and solidly constructed argument, Humfress demonstrates how legal practitioners, including Christian churchmen, affected the scope and content of imperial law and how imperial law then gave Christianity its hard boundaries between orthodoxy and heresy. The most consequential turn for the fourth-century church, she argues, was from philosophical to forensic debate, a turn Constantine demonstrated when he branded Arius with infamy in 325 after previously inviting him to a polite exchange of views. But Constantine was in some ways a latecomer to this forensic turn and certainly not the final word. Humfress spends the first two parts of the book explaining what and whom forensics involved; she shows that its teachers and practitioners were active into the fifth century and beyond; she presents illuminating examples of the influence of forensic experts on lawmakers; and she makes clear how much church officials and procedures owed to forensic training.

The exposition is clear, but the material is complex. Students of church history unfamiliar with Roman law may want more help understanding formulary procedure, for example, than Humfress can provide here. Students of legal history unfamiliar with theology have it easier, even in the third and final section on how forensics affected theology. Humfress is interested in the way churchmen and lawmakers categorized doctrine and subsequent application of those categories, but not in the details of doctrine. Indeed, Humfress has left plenty of work to be done, whether in further tracing the imprint of forensic training in doctrinal texts themselves, or in documenting more cases of influence among forensic experts, churchmen, and lawmakers. Her own success here should encourage such future studies.

If the argumentative focus of the book is acute, the breadth of its learning is vast. Humfress is equally masterful in handling scholarly debates from a century ago as she is bold in pushing recent advances further, especially with respect to rhetoric and legal studies. As for the primary sources, Augustine is the single-most important author, especially for the later chapters. But the book balances the evidence well across time and space, with particularly good and careful use of the law codes and papyri. One exception is how Humfress handles Roman bishops: in a text that places British-style quotation marks around such seemingly innocent words as *law*, *legal*, *Christian*, *Roman*, *knowing*, and *facts*, it is surprising to find *papacy* and *the Pope* unremarked; whereas Humfress is careful to differentiate between emperors and the actual authors of their edicts, the "Roman papacy [has] intent" and acts "self-consciously" (pp. 179, 211); and the evidence for Roman bishops keeping a "'central archive'" (p. 170) is actually thin. But the evidence from Rome would lend itself well to the same, methodical treatment Humfress applies to the North African evidence. Minor typographical errors crop up mainly in notes and the bibliography, where scholarship is sometimes misattributed (e.g., Gager for Gagos, Michel for Millar).

Ohio University KEVIN UHALDE

L'histoire des iconoclastes. By Marie-France Auzépy. [Bilans de recherché, 2.] (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilization de Byzance. 2007. Pp. xvi, 386. €40,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-916-71607-7.)

The iconoclastic era (730–843) is one of conviction, passion, ideology, and "faith propaganda." As an "iconoclast" Auzépy could not have remained unaffected. The single thread that ties all her studies is her ideological conviction that the Isaurians and the iconoclasts were "the victims of a shouting historical injustice" (p. v). Thus a harvest of nineteen articles and a book chapter put into a single collection constitutes an ultimate effort at reinstating the Isaurian emperors and their fellow iconoclasts and at reshaping the face of the "grands perdants de l'histoire du viii^{e} siècle" (p. 314) from the distortions of the iconophile sources. The brief *Avant-propos* makes a quick reference to the "dark ages," a period that Jonathan Shepard, editor of the *Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire* (2008), has titled "State of Emergency," which Auzépy used in 2005 to write a masterful chapter on the iconoclastic period. This chapter ("État d'urgence") now composes the introductory chapter of the collection.

The thematic arrangement of the articles revolves around three axes: 1. "The Foundations of Orthodoxy: The Council of Nicaea II and the Patriarchate of Constantinople," 2. "The Reconstruction of the Past," and 3. "The Isaurians: A History *en creux*." In the first section, the author is attempting to track the iconophile urge to write the history of their opponents. To them, the iconoclasts were not even Christians but Jews or Saracens; not human but beasts,

lions, and dragons. Most of the section's six articles reference the Acts of Nicaea II (787), with one article citing the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*. The articles in the second section refer to the institutionalization of the "history of the iconoclasts" and the consequences of such a distorted "history." An analysis of the *Vita Stephani the Young* shows, according to Auzépy, a saint who died not because of his veneration of icons but because of his participation in a plot against the emperor. Thus, this is a hagiological work aiming at transforming a political person into a martyr in defense of the icons. The destruction of the icon of Christ at the Chalke gate that this writing presents as the causal event that brought about the eruption of iconoclasm is, again according to Auzépy, a later invention of the early-ninth century as it contains elements from the reign of empress Irene (797–802). Auzépy also challenges the attachment of John of Damascus to Mar Sabas as an invention of Sabaitic hagiography on the premise that the Damascene was a monk not of the Judean lavra of Mar Sabbas but of the Monastery of the Resurrection in Jerusalem. The third section contains articles in which Auzépy, taking greater risks, has sought to touch the faint footprints of the iconoclasts. In her opinion, iconoclasm configured the imperial response to the threat that the New Israel may be wiped out for insulting God by its idolatrous practices. Here, the relations between the Isaurians and the Carolingians gain distinction. The vacuum posed by Byzantine sources is filled by Western ones from the Carolingian and the papal court. The vitality of the Isaurian foreign policy is evident here, which served as a model for the Carolingians. The *Libri Carolini,* where the theologians of Charles the Great refuted the theology of the icons of Nicaea II, reveals a close relationship between Carolingians and Isaurians. In her work to restore the history and the image of the iconoclasts Auzépy uses the lives of saints who were considered iconoclasts. Through them, a sanctity expressed in the world through good deeds emerges, different from the monastic model of sanctity that is based on spiritual exercise and the miraculous. Another aspect of the iconoclasts was their opposition to the veneration of holy relics.

As she has immersed herself into what she calls the pleasant opportunities for imagination offered by the obscurities of iconoclasm (p. v), Auzépy has, literally, absorbed the sources and the secondary material on the subject. However, the reader may question whether iconoclasm actually existed, since the entire time span (150 years) seems to have been consumed by machinations and intrigues of the iconophiles against the iconoclasts. A lack of understanding of, or even a slight prejudice toward, Byzantium and Eastern Christian theology and spirituality often allows the author to walk an unbalanced historico-theological and interpretive tightrope. Notwithstanding these remarks, plowing through the collected labor (1981–2005) of a prominent "iconoclastic" academic is by no means a waste of time.

Ionian University SOPHIA MERGIALI-SAHAS
University of Waterloo (Emeritus) DANIEL J. SAHAS

Medieval

Literaturbericht zur mittelalterlichen und neuzeitlichen Epigraphik (1998–2002). By Walter Koch and Franz-Albrecht Bornschlegel. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hilfmittel 22] (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung. 2005. Pp. 519. €40,00. ISBN 978-3-775-21129-1.)

The field of epigraphy embraces a broad range of subjects, since inscriptions can be studied for their historical content, appearance, language, and development, to name but a few. As a result, this bibliography of recent scholarship on epigraphy from the medieval through the Renaissance periods will be a valuable resource for scholars in many areas of cultural history. The fourth such overview presented by the famed institute Monumenta Germaniae Historica includes essays by leading German scholars in the field and at least 4,000 bibliographical entries, many of them annotated. Although the institute is devoted to the study of German history, the material presented here is broader in scope: entries principally cover German language regions, but also include much French, English, and Italian material, reflecting a European spectrum. The inscriptions studied are limited to those using the Latin alphabet.

The contents are arranged in eight sections with a preface by Walter Koch, who initiated this series of bibliographic reviews with the first volume in 1987, which spanned the years 1976 through 1984. He also oversaw subsequent volumes that covered the years 1985–91 (1994) and 1992–97 (2000). He coedited the third and fourth volumes with Franz-Albrecht Bornschlegel of the Ludwig-Maximilians Universität in Munich.

In the first two sections, Koch discusses articles, papers, congress proceedings, handbooks, and abstracts on epigraphy, as well as series sponsored by national institutes dedicated to the study of epigraphy. In the third section, Bornschlegel, with the assistance of Maria Glaser, lists articles, chapters, and entire volumes on inscriptions in Germany as well as in other European countries. For the fourth section, Bornschlegel discusses various projects throughout Europe that address practical issues related to the epigraphic studies, such as terminology, transcription, and reproduction. For the fifth section, Koch turns to the study of the paleography of inscriptions—that is, the letter forms with their distinctive characteristics and development. Next, Bornschlegel, in section 6, presents examinations of epigraphic texts as historic writings with regard to their orthography, formulaic constructions, abbreviations, and meter, together with their social and historic connotations. The next section, which at 132 pages is the lengthiest in the book, addresses individual monuments and groups of monuments. The citations are themselves arranged under headings that proceed from general ("Geschichte allgemein" [sic] and "Kunstgeschichte") to the more specific ("Glocken" and "Grabmäler"). The final section presents citations of articles, books, and collections of essays in the history of art and epigraphy and addresses issues associated with the reconstruction of incomplete or lost inscriptions.

There is much here to excite researchers and compel them to consult their favorite database. To organize such a wealth of material is a daunting task, and the rationale for a citation's placement seems illogical and inconsistent at times. Fortunately, this work concludes with three indices, organized by author, location, and person and object. A scholar would benefit from spending some time in a favorite armchair browsing through this rich bibliographic collection.

Bloomsburg University CHRISTINE SPERLING

Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes: Eastern Influences on Rome and the Papacy from Gregory the Great to Zacharias, A.D. 590–752. By Andrew J. Ekonomou. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 2007. Pp. x, 347. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-739-11977-8.)

The title is misleading, suggesting a book on the Greek popes—that is, the popes from Agatho (678–81) to Zacharias (741–52), all of whom, with the exception of Gregory II, were native Greek speakers. In fact, it is not until page 200 that the Greek popes arrive, and only the last chapter and the epilogue (on Zacharias) really discuss them. The book is, in fact, about a broader theme, as the subtitle indicates: an exploration of the links between Rome and the Greek East from the end of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century. Ekonomou begins with Gregory the Great, who spent time as a papal *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople but never apparently achieved any facility in Greek and was defensive against seeming attempts by the patriarch of Constantinople to encroach on the privileges of Rome. Despite this, the author shows how deeply interested Gregory was in the Greek East, especially its ascetic traditions. The impact of the incursion into the Eastern Empire of Slavs and Avars, Persians and Arabs, led to the flight of many, especially monks, to Rome, which sets the scene for the rest of the book: the effect of the presence of Greeks in Rome. There emerged a tension between the papacy and the emperor, when the latter attempted to heal the divisions, which were part of the Chalcedonian heritage in the East, by the compromise doctrines of monenergism and monothelitism. Spurred on by Maximos the Confessor and other Greek monks, Pope Martin made a stand for Chalcedonian orthodoxy by calling what was regarded as an ecumenical synod at the Lateran in 649, thereby usurping what had become, and was to remain, an imperial privilege. Imperial revenge was savage: Martin died in the Crimea in 655, broken by his abandonment by a pliant Roman Church, while Maximos died in Lazica in 662, after a prolonged attempt to break his resolve. The author then turns to the Emperor Constans's visit to Rome and his murder in Sicily in 662, before addressing the Greek popes. He discusses the impact of the Greek popes in the realm of church music, with the abundant evidence of the adoption of Greek music and even Greek texts, and church architecture and religious art. He ends with a brief discussion of Zacharias, who translated Pope Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* into Greek, thereby making Gregory one of the few Latin Fathers well known in the

East—as *ho Dialogos*. The author traces Greek influence far beyond Rome to England, through the appointment of the Greek monk Theodore of Tarsus as archbishop of Canterbury. In the course of his account, the author takes the opportunity to correct commonly held opinions: e.g., that Constans intended to abandon Constantinople and establish his capital in the West, and Bede's suspicion that Hadrian was sent, along with Theodore as a minder, to prevent his introduction of Greek customs.

From information tucked at the end of the book (there is no introduction), it would appear that the book is based on a thesis submitted in 2000, although it is much better written than the general run of theses. This explains why no account is taken of Pauline Allen and Bronwen Neil's edition (1999, 2002) of the dossier of contemporary materials concerned with Maximos's life and trials, although even in 2000 it was well known that much of the material in the Greek *vita* of the saint is purely legendary; Neil's *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs* (2006) clearly appeared too late. Ekonomou's account of the widespread destruction that accompanied the fall of Jerusalem in 614 seems to ignore Flusin's more sober account in his study of St. Athanasius the Persian (in the bibliography), and the impression given of the complete demise of the famous monastery of St. Sabas is something of an exaggeration. Later on, the author's claims for extensive influence of the Greek popes on religious art in Rome suffers from the lack of any sense of what a distinctively "Western" art would look like at this stage, or even whether it makes sense to think in these terms. Nevertheless, there is a great deal to learn from this new take on an important phase in the history of the papacy.

University of Durham ANDREW LOUTH

Paths of Exile: Narratives of St. Columba and the Praxis of Iona. By James Lewis. (South Bend, IN: Cloverdale Books. 2007. Pp. xii, 204. $19.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-929-56924-3.)

Voluntary lifelong exile (Hiberno-Latin *peregrinatio*) is one of the outstanding ascetic and penitential practices among early Irish Christians. Its first representative is Columbanus, exile from ca. 590 to his death in Bobbio in 615, who has left records of this phenomenon and whose near-contemporary biographer Jonas provides the *locus classicus* concerning this institution. The concepts inherent in this institution were discussed first in 1976 by Thomas Charles-Edwards and are the point of departure for all scholarship in this field over the past three decades (referred to in note 38 on p. 72 but not listed in the bibliography). Charles-Edwards showed that the Christian concept was rooted in Irish secular law, hence the specific Irish dimension. As a matter of fact, not all that many Irish *peregrini* are known from the early Middle Ages.

The aim of this study is to investigate Colum Cille's "legacy and example throughout Ireland, what we call Scotland, Anglo-Saxon England and large

areas of barbarian Europe in the following centuries" (p. x). A study of this nature has not been available to date. Colum Cille, abbot of Iona, died in 597. Unfortunately, not a single word of his has survived, so the scholar encounters Colum Cille at a remove, which is a substantial handicap. The principal sources here prominently exploited are the Latin Life of Columba by Adomnán, also abbot of Iona, which was completed *ca*. 697; the Old Irish poem *Amra Choluimb Chille*, allegedly composed by Dallán Forgaill shortly before 600 (note that the Irish language was not yet written at this time); and two Irish lives, written in the twelfth and fifteenth centuries respectively. Any study of the subject requires sound historical as well as philological training. The Latin work, superbly edited first in 1854 by William Reeves, was last edited in 1961 (twice reprinted with minor corrections), whereas the best edition of the eulogy remains that of 1899 by Whitley Stokes in the *Revue Celtique* (not listed in the bibliography); this work remains largely unconsulted by historians. The author quotes the Latin Life in the original but the eulogy only in an uncommented translation of 1995. His use of Irish terms and names is not uniform throughout (his *Aipgitir Chrábaid* is spelled *Apgitir* in the 1995 book and *abgitir* in the authoritative dictionary of the Irish language; *Áed mac Ainmirech* occurs in three different spellings). Thus the philological foundations of the study are somewhat shaky (*Canones Hibernensis* should read *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, p. 152 [*cf. potioris peregrinatio*, p. 52; *peregrinari pro Dei*, p. 79; and *pro amore Deo*, p. 152]).

The key term in this study is *exile*, or its Latin equivalent, *peregrinus/peregrinatio*. Although this term can be traced directly in the works of Columbanus to *ca.* 600, this can be done for Colum Cille only in Adomnán, thus almost a century later. Its applicability is not investigated here (see, however, "the real, or at least *narrated*, life experience" [p. 3, emphasis in original]). In the decisive sentence of Adomnán quoted in note 37 on p. 145, the crucial verb *peregrinari* is left out. The author's fundamental disagreement with the reviewer's position (see esp. p. 42) shows a lack of appreciation for fundamental historical criteria.

The most substantial chapter 6 (pp. 29–77) is devoted to a discussion of the evidence provided by Adomnán, and chapter 9, the second longest chapter in the book, examines the ambivalent evidence provided by Bede (the author does not understand the reviewer's critical evaluation of Bede, p. 118). His presentation therein of Aidán of Iona in Northumbria as a *peregrinus* (see esp. 124, 126) cannot be substantiated in Bede's narrative. In fact, Aidán was sent to work as a missionary, an activity that for the other *peregrini* cannot be maintained.

The production of the book in general leaves much to be desired. In chapter 8, notes 48–52 are not provided. In the bibliography there are works listed, including three by the reviewer, which do not figure in the text at all.

States the author, "I have endeavoured to show that Confession / Penitence, *peregrinatio* and mission form an unbreakable nexus such that whenever one

appears in the action of Columban monks the others are or can be assumed to be present also" (p. 162). On the basis of the historical sources, such an assumption cannot be sustained.

University of Constance MICHAEL RICHTER

Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages. By Westley Follett. [Studies in Celtic History, XXIII.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 253. $85.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83276-8.)

The last major study of the Céli Dé was that of Peter O'Dwyer in 1977, which he revised with additions in 1981. This has been the standard work on the subject ever since, and many subsequent writers have adopted O'Dwyer's views unchallenged. Academic scholarship has waited thirty years for a reappraisal, and subsequently two major reassessments of this so-called "reform movement" in early medieval Ireland have appeared, including Westley Follett's work.

O'Dwyer's work has had its critics, and writers such as Nora Chadwick and more recently, Colmán Etchingham, have questioned the categorization of the Céli Dé as a "reform," but their objections have been peripheral to the main thrust of their respective studies. Follett's work concentrates fully on reassessing the Céli Dé and is original in that it centers on the manuscript history of the various texts that have traditionally been associated with the Céli Dé monks. With painstaking thoroughness, Follett shows that the writings hitherto ascribed to the movement (if, as he says, it can be deemed a movement) are actually much fewer in number than O'Dwyer and other earlier commentators believed. Although this investigation of manuscript history forms the major part of the book, Follett also, in his long and detailed second chapter, explores Irish asceticism before the Céli Dé to put these monks in context. His carefully detailed study goes a long way to providing an up-to-date and much needed successor to John Ryan's now extremely dated *Irish Monasticism*.

Etchingham argues that Irish monastic asceticism showed no sign of declining in the mid- to late-eighth century, and Brian Lambkin views Céli Dé as members of God's personal retinue who saw themselves accordingly as a kind of "religious elite." In his conclusions, Follett substantiates these premises of Etchingham and Lambkin, and it is, perhaps, the only disappointing element in his work that he takes these conclusions no further. However, it is in his methodology that he shows his originality. Whereas Lambkin based his suggestion mainly on the evidence provided by the poems of Blathmac and the *Félire Óengusso*, Follett examines and critiques all the texts that have been associated with the movement. He draws the conclusion that "*céli Dé*, at least in their eighth- and ninth-century manifestation, were more of a local phenomenon than a regional or general one, as has often been supposed" (218).

This is an important book both for the study of insular monasticism and for research into the history of early Irish texts. In the meticulousness of its scholarship it provides a model for the latter. It enters the current debate regarding the exact identity of the Céli Dé when this question is coming to the forefront of academic research and develops that debate in new and original ways by its examination of the manuscript history of crucial texts, showing how a more precise assessment of the authorship of these texts can assist in understanding Céli Dé identity. Although not everyone will agree with Follett's conclusions, by refining and narrowing the early medieval "database" of texts connected with the Céli Dé, he provides an important service to current and future scholarship.

University of Wales, Lampeter PATRICIA M. RUMSEY

The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and Its Historian. By Patrick Wormald. Edited by Stephen Baxter. (Malden, MA: Blackwell. 2006. Pp. xviii, 290. $83.95. ISBN 978-0-631-16655-9.)

This collection of nine previously published essays was assembled by Patrick Wormald before his untimely death in 2004 and subsequently finalized and prepared for publication by Stephen Baxter. Although divided into two sections—"An Early Christian Culture and its Critic" and "The Impact of Bede's Critique"—there is in practice considerable overlap between the two and the chronological focus of both is the eighth and early-ninth centuries. The themes and issues of the papers are very much those that Wormald made his own: the aristocratic mores of the English Church, the emergence of a sense of cultural unity among the Anglo-Saxons, and Bede's relationship to his own times. The odd man out is the first essay of the second section, "Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast," which, although demonstrating Æthelwold's debt to the writings of Bede, nevertheless feels out of place in a volume that has a fairly narrow focus in both chronology and theme. Most of the essays have additional notes (explicitly *retractationes,* not retractions) and more recent bibliography, although the lack of the detailed introduction that Wormald planned is sorely felt.

The 1984 Jarrow Lecture "Bede and the Conversion of England: the Charter Evidence" forms chapter 4 and is in many ways the standout piece of this collection. The complex and often daunting subjects of diplomatic and Anglo-Saxon land tenure are introduced gently and eruditely and, as always with Wormald, with an eye to the Continent. That this essay remains the best introduction to these subjects despite a near-revolution in charter studies over the past two decades is an indication of the learning and insight that Wormald brought. "Bede, *Beowulf* and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy" likewise continues to occupy a central place on many reading lists, and Wormald's basic thesis that *Beowulf* is a product of pre-Alfredian England and reflects the cultural environment of the secularized monasteries condemned

by Bede remains persuasive, although not totally compelling. Recent work, in particular Mary Garrison's reconsideration of Alcuin's famous phrase "*Quid Hinieldus cum Christo?*," is likely to necessitate further nuancing of Wormald's ideas, and late-daters of *Beowulf* will no doubt remain unconvinced, but, again, this piece still has important things to say.

Other essays in the collection have unfortunately weathered less well. The opening chapter, "Bede and Benedict Biscop," originally published in 1976, sets out the Continental context for Wearmouth-Jarrow and the various influences operating upon Bede. Yet the cloistered, otherworldly Bede who emerges from this study is precisely the one who did not survive his encounter with Walter Goffart, and the additional notes at the end of the chapter are insufficient to take full account of the seismic shift initiated by *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (Princeton, 1988). The two essays that focus on the creation of a sense of English identity and unity, chapters 3 and 6, likewise engage with debates that have moved on considerably since the essays were first published, although here it is precisely because Wormald's interventions had such effect.

This collection is, then, something of a mixed bag. Some essays remain relevant to ongoing debates; others have predominantly historiographical interest. On display throughout, however, is Wormald's considerable intellect and erudition and in the earlier essays in particular an enviable familiarity with Continental scholarship. There are also occasional flashes of the theater that was a Wormald lecture. If there is one overriding impression, however, it is of a work unfinished and loose ends left untied. Baxter has done an admirable job of bringing this work to publication, but at the end the reader is left only with a sense of what might have been.

University of Manchester MARTIN RYAN

The Crusades, the Kingdom of Sicily, and the Mediterranean. By James M. Powell. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS871.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2007. Pp. x, 300. $114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65917-4.)

This volume of collected studies brings together seventeen articles written between 1962 and 2003 by James M. Powell, a leading American historian of the crusades and the medieval Mediterranean period. Sixteen of these are previously published pieces. The text of an inaugural lecture delivered at the Malta Study Centre, Saint John's University, in 1999 ("Crusading: 1099–1999") is printed here for the first time. All but one of the articles is written in English ("Franceso d'Assisi e la Quinta Crociata. Una missione di pace"). The majority of the contributions treat some aspect either of the crusades or the Kingdom of Sicily under the Hohenstaufen rulers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A focal point in these groups of articles concerns the relationship between Christians and Muslims throughout the countries bordering the Mediterranean during this key period of intensified intercultural and interreli-

gious conflict. The topics span a wide range: from the royal crusade projects of the Hohenstaufen, the contribution of women to the crusade movement, and Matthew Paris's comments on Muhammad to the trade relations of medieval Sicily. Quite a number of Powell's articles mark the departure of new avenues of investigation. For example, his 1977 article on Honorius III's crusade politics first confirmed the important role this pope played in implementing the strategies of his famous predecessor Innocent III. By the same token, Powell's 1992 article on the vow redemptions of a group of Genoese women and their contribution toward financing the crusade highlighted for the first time the important nexus between crusade propaganda, women, and finance in the thirteenth century. As exemplified by these articles, Powell's work has always been marked by an uncompromising approach that places reading, rereading, and freshly interpreting sources first. A master in searching for new evidence and in teasing out details of meaning, Powell has always insisted on an interpretation of history that closely follows the evidence. This explains why the publishers did not restrict this collection to Powell's more recent publications, but include articles written some thirty or forty years ago that have stood the test of time and still are essential reading for researchers in these fields. But Powell's articles should not only be read for his efforts to introduce and interpret new evidence. Throughout, his work is driven by an eagerness to understand medieval history from a modern perspective. For Powell, understanding the medieval crusade and the relation between Christians and Muslims in these past centuries always includes "lessons to be learned" (p. 13). He is far from drawing crude parallels or proposing simplistic solutions to today's problems from a past that was and always will be different. But reading through the closing pages of Powell's lecture at the Malta Study Centre, in which he comments that the study of the medieval crusade can help put the modern conflicts in the Balkans into perspective, gives readers an idea of just how much Powell's voice as a medieval historian is guided by and speaking toward the present. Researchers working in the fields covered by this collection will be ignoring Powell's work at their own risk. This collection will help to ensure that they do not.

University of Zurich CHRISTOPH T. MAIER

Bohémond d'Antioche: Chevalier d'Aventure. By Jean Flori. [Biographie Payot.] (Paris: Payot & Rivages. 2007. Pp. 380. €25,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-228-90226-7.)

Bohémond of Antioch (*c.* 1058–1111) enjoyed enormous attention from his contemporaries, as well as from modern scholars, for his role in the First Crusade as well as his two efforts to conquer the Byzantine empire (1080–85, 1107–08). Nevertheless, there had not been a scholarly biography of this man since R. B. Yewdale's study in 1924. Jean Flori, director of research at the Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale in Poitiers, has essayed to

redress this lacuna with a biography that has at its central focus Bohémond's career as a "knightly adventurer" (*chevalier d'aventure*).

Flori, who is perhaps best known for his voluminous studies on medieval chivalry and knighthood, identifies four major reasons for writing this biography. As a scholar, who sees himself in the *annaliste* tradition, Flori insists that it is crucial to demonstrate that biography can be consistent with an *annaliste* focus on the *long durée* through an emphasis on individuals, such as Bohémond, who were catalysts for change. Flori contends that to do otherwise is to leave biography in the hands of amateurs, who have neither the skills nor the desire to provide a clear and realistic picture of the past. Flori's second stimulus is to demonstrate that Bohémond is a paradigmatic figure of the late-eleventh century incorporating the values, desires, and behaviors of the knightly aristocracy who ruled Europe. Third, Flori sees Bohemond's life and career as a valuable prism through which to evaluate the *parti pris* of the numerous narrative sources that provide information about the First Crusade. It is Flori's contention that scholars have failed to pay adequate attention to the biases of and audiences for these works. Finally, Flori insists that Bohémond is simply a fascinating figure whose story should be told.

The work is divided into twenty-four chapters with a prologue and epilogue. The biography has three major sections. Chapters 1–4 provide a brief introduction to Norman settlement in southern Italy; the career of Bohémond's father, Robert Guiscard; and Bohémond's early career in southern Italy, including the first invasion of the Byzantine empire under his father's overall command. Chapters 5–15 treat the First Crusade from Bohémond's perspective. Chapters 16–24 deal with Bohémond's effort to establish, maintain, and expand the principality of Antioch. The bibliography is extensive with regard to both French and English language scholarship, but includes only a very small number of German works. Flori provides an extensive scholarly apparatus with citations to both sources and scholarly works.

There is much to praise in this study. Flori's detailed discussion of Bohémond's career, which is based on a close reading of documentary as well as narrative sources, provides valuable insights into the Norman's decision making as well as his personality. Flori's analysis of the biases of contemporary authors and the audiences for their works is also fruitful. For example, it has long puzzled scholars how the crusader army could continue to hold Peter the Hermit in high esteem if he had attempted to desert during the siege of Antioch, as claimed by the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* and the authors of seven other contemporary works. Flori demonstrates that the *Gesta* is the only source for this claim, as the other works depend on this text for the story about Peter. Flori then shows that the text of the *Gesta* was changed while the anonymous author and Bohémond were at the court of King Philip I of France, because the story of desertion originally had been about Guy the Red. When Bohémond arrived at the French court to seek aid for his planned

invasion of the Byzantine empire, Guy held the post of royal seneschal, and thus it was ill-advised to remind such a man of his earlier cowardice (p. 268).

Unfortunately, however, Flori's critical analysis of source bias does not extend into the realm of military affairs. The many scholars who have criticized Flori for his romantic views of knightly chivalry will find much to dispute in this biography as well. Accepting as plain text the biases of his sources, Flori devotes enormous attention to the central role played by "knights" (*chevaliers*) in eleventh-century warfare. In particular, he focuses on the putatively crucial tactic of the massed charge of heavily armored knights thundering across the field with couched lances (p. 23). This almost myopic focus on knights is particularly jarring given Flori's own discussion of the dozens of sieges, including Amalfi, Durazzo, Nicaea, and Antioch that dominated Bohémond's military campaigns. Serious scholars can no longer continue to employ shibboleths about chivalry, knighthood, and warrior aristocracies when discussing the reality of medieval warfare, which was dominated by foot soldiers of low social origins engaged in the defense and capture of fortifications.

In sum, this is a worthy addition to scholarship on Norman Italy, the First Crusade and Crusader States, source criticism, and especially the career of Bohémond. This book will be of considerable value to graduate students and professional scholars alike.

University of New Hampshire DAVID S. BACHRACH

Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem. By Albert of Aachen. Edited and translated by Susan B. Edgington. [Oxford Medieval Texts.] (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. lxii, 949. $302.50. ISBN 978-0-199-20486-1.)

The author of this history of the First Crusade and the early years of the Latin settlements in the East, who goes by the name of Albert of Aachen, wrote that he had been thwarted in joining the expedition. He was not, therefore, an eyewitness of the events he described and there are inconsistencies and chronological inaccuracies in his account. At the same time no one can deny that he has left a simply wonderful text. It is also the main source for subjects such as the crusade of 1101 and the county of Edessa, and it is full of details that are not found elsewhere, such as reports on the entourage of Godfrey of Bouillon, the first Latin ruler of Jerusalem, and on the early years of the settlements. The reaction of most historians, however, has been extraordinarily ambivalent. Few have dared to question the apparently late date of a text that everyone thought could not have been composed long before 1128 or to challenge Heinrich von Sybel's destructive criticism of its reliability in the 1840s, but at the same time its inestimable value as an independent source has made historians reluctant to dismiss it. Instead, they have seized on the supposed existence of a lost Lorrainer chronicle that, they claim, was the basis of Albert's

account and the primitive version of the *Chanson d'Antioche.* This assertion ignores the fact that it is quite impossible to identify the contents of any original redaction of the *Chanson*. In recent years, however, a few, including myself, and also those brave individuals who have somewhat vainly tried to rehabilitate the role of Peter the Hermit in the crusade, have chosen to ignore the problems and have treated Albert as almost as good a source as the eyewitness accounts.

Edgington's edition cannot be praised highly enough, and its value to future historians is almost beyond estimation, because she has resolved many of the issues. She provides the badly needed definitive edition—a major achievement, because the text is long and quite complex. She also suggests very convincingly that it was written in two stages. The first half (books i–vi) is composed of what Albert originally intended to be a free-standing account of the crusade and was completed soon after 1102. He then began again and wrote an account in books vii–xii of the early years of the Latin settlements, which ends abruptly in mid-course in 1119. The two halves had been pasted together by the late 1120s, but the account of the First Crusade already may have been in circulation. This would explain why later in the century William of Tyre made extensive use of it in his *Chronicon*, but did not reference books vii–xii, which would have been of great value to him. Thus, although Albert may not have been an eyewitness, his narrative of the crusade was a very early one, and his sources of information seem more solid. Questions, of course, remain, and some of Heinrich von Sybel's remarks are still useful correctives, but Albert has been rehabilitated, and a first-class edition of his history now exists.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus. Vol. 3: *The City of Jerusalem.* By Denys Pringle. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xxvi, 506; plates 212, figures 81, maps 5. $195.00. ISBN 978-0-521-39038-5.)

The long-anticipated third volume of Denys Pringle's magisterial *Corpus* will undoubtedly be the most consulted as it is devoted to the churches of Jerusalem, the capital of the Crusader Kingdom from 1099 to 1187. The volume appears nine years after the second and fourteen years after the first and, it would appear, twenty-eight years after the project was initiated. Although this was projected to be the final volume of the *Corpus*, the quantity of material proved to be too substantial, and we must now await a fourth volume to complete the series, containing the churches of Acre and Tyre, as well as the addenda and corrigenda.

The *Corpus* is effectively redefining how crusader architecture is studied, for it is significantly expanding the parameters of inquiry. Prior to its publication, scholars relied on Camille Enlart's *Les monuments de croisés dans le roy-*

aume de Jérusalem (Paris, 1925–28) as the most thorough treatment of the subject, although it discussed only about sixty buildings. Much additional research has been done since Enlart's time, but the sites are often difficult to access and the publications equally difficult to locate. Volume 3 adds eighty-seven churches to the total, raising the ante to 370. With the final volume, the total should approach 500. In addition to well-preserved buildings, Pringle includes those known only from archaeology or the textual record, and several that remain unidentified.

Well researched and well organized, the *Corpus* is a model of orderly and authoritative documentation. The present volume assimilates all publications up to around 2004 and combines them with field surveys of the surviving buildings and standing remains. The entries provide topographical coordinates to relate the buildings to the maps included at the end of the volume. Each entry begins with a discussion of the history and (if necessary) identification of the site, as well as with a survey of the sources and historical literature. Buildings are described in detail and illustrated with current and historical photographs—the latter critical for altered or lost buildings. Plans, elevations, and reconstruction drawings have been redone from existing drawings, modified where necessary, or produced anew based on Pringle's fieldwork. The result is a visual consistency rarely achieved in publications of this sort. Verbal descriptions include, where appropriate, architectural decorations, furnishings, associated buildings, epigraphy, frescoes, mosaics, and masons' marks. Each major entry concludes with a balanced assessment of the scholarship on the subject.

In the final analysis, Pringle is more concerned with the documentation than with the interpretation, which he is content to leave to others. Rarely does he launch into speculation of an art-historical nature, and most often the conclusions are guarded. I am not quite ready to abandon the association of the eleventh-century Holy Sepulchre with Constantine IX Monomachos, as Pringle does, following Martin Biddle (pp. 11–12). Nor am I convinced by his restoration of the Church of the Ascension, with its awkward vaulting system (pp. 78 *ff.*); indeed, it is unclear from his plan (figure 9) what survives and what he proposes. Still, this section represents the clearest analysis in print of a very difficult building. The same holds true for St. Mary on Mount Sion: although the analysis is clear, the reconstruction remains unconvincing. The analysis of the monuments in the area of the Muristan area is also noteworthy.

Quibbles are minor. I would have liked more attention to the construction techniques, or at least a better indication of what sort of evidence Pringle is relying upon to make chronological distinctions or as evidence for reconstruction. In general, masonry techniques are poorly illustrated in the plates and unrepresented in the drawings. In terms of presentation, the system of parenthetical notes adopted in the earlier volumes becomes unmanageable with the major monuments of Jerusalem, for which there are simply too many citations to accommodate without losing the narrative flow of the text. Finally,

survey technology and methods of site documentation have also changed in the last ten years. Plan figure 7, for example, of the Holy Sepulchre complex is the most comprehensible I have seen published, but it is nevertheless simplified and regularized. For a monument as important as this (and for many others), more accuracy and more detail would be most welcome.

University of Pennsylvania ROBERT OUSTERHOUT

Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages. Edited by Carolyn Muessig and Ad Putter with the assistance of Gareth Griffith and Judith Jefferson. [Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture, 6.] (New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. xiv, 257. $140.00. ISBN 978-0-203-96621-1.)

The excellent papers in this well-focused anthology were delivered at a research program at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Bristol in 2002–04. The editors' introductory survey of recent scholarship also introduces the other fifteen essays in the book, which allocates them to four parts.

Part 2 contains two magisterial surveys of medieval theology. Bernard McGinn traces the developing and conflicting ways in which theology and mysticism envisaged the vision of God. Peter Dronke surveys the notion of *apocatastasis* (the salvation of all humanity). The other two essays in this section are more specific. Beverly Kienzle studies, in Hildegard of Bingen's *Expositiones* on the Gospel, the role of the virtues and the Holy Spirit in the Christian's effort rebuild the lost paradise, and the contours of the heavenly Jerusalem. Carolyn Muessig presents the heavenly empyrean, visionary experiences of it on this earth, and angelology in the sermons of Jacques de Vitry (*c.* 1160–1240).

Several articles in the book refer to the observations of Peter Dinzelbacher and Bernard McGinn that in the twelfth century most visions of heaven were one-time, otherworld journeys by men, whereas in the thirteenth century women often had recurring experiences of the afterlife that offered specific prophetic information. Part 3 offers four studies of such visionary experiences. Robert Easting surveys the literature of such visions of heaven and finds the accounts reticent on what the seers actually saw and heard. The other articles in this section are more narrowly focused. Mary Suydam investigates beguine experiences of heaven, which enhanced the status of the seers while bringing other people information about the status of souls. Steven Rozenski, Jr., shows the tension between heavenly apparitions and apophaticism in Henry Suso's works. A. C. Spearing finds that Marguerite Porete's *Mirror for Simple Souls* dissolved the orthodox boundary between heaven and earth and suggests that Porete's self-understanding was elitist and disturbingly masochistic.

Part 4 includes studies of how heaven was presented in medieval drama (Peter Meredith), the lyrics and performance of four of Hildegard's songs

(Stephen D'Evelyn); canto 28 of Dante's *Paradiso* (Robin Kirkpatrick); and the intricate poetry of the *Pearl*, the *Marienleich* of Heinrich von Meissen (d. 1318), and Dante's *Paradiso* (Barbara Newman). These last three articles are models of close, insightful literary analysis. Part 5, "Vernacular appropriations," opens with a very interesting study of how Irish traditions of hospitality and banqueting blended with devotional currents from the continent to form a particularly Irish vision of the heavenly banquet, open to all who would enter, where the wine-blood of Christ was both requisite and reward. The final two articles discuss how romantic love was described in heavenly terms in Chaucer's works (Elizabeth Archibald) and how the fairy world of medieval romances incorporated the descriptions of the heavenly Jerusalem in the *Book of Revelation* and New Testament apocrypha (Ad Putter).

It is a tribute to the editors and authors that they are able to enter into a world so different from our own. The titles of two books suggest just how different: Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Paradise Mislaid: How We Lost Heaven—and How We Can Regain It* (Oxford, 2006), and Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven: Spirituality in America since the 1950s* (Berkeley, 1998). Wuthnow believes that in our mobile society we are "seekers" rather than "dwellers." The medieval thinkers and artists discussed in this book were seekers also, but most of them sought a lasting dwelling place that they envisaged as heaven.

Monastery of the Ascension, Jerome, Idaho HUGH FEISS, O.S.B.

Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth. By Alessandro Scafi. (London: The British Library; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. 398. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-226-73559-7.)

Why were medieval maps so inaccurate and fanciful, even on well-traveled routes where sailors, traders, or pilgrims knew better? Perhaps early world maps are accurate and insightful descriptions of something, but of what?

This is the question Alessandro Scafi so engagingly addresses in his erudite, thorough, and beautiful volume, specifically addressing the place of the Garden of Eden, the biblical paradise, on *mappae mundi*. More than a thousand of these maps survive and their descendants in the modern era are legion. His answer: these *mappae mundi* are conceptual representations, neither serving the same purpose as today's maps nor ever envisioned so. Their evolution depicts the theological centrality and rational evolution of the concept of perfected Paradise, the beginning and end of time, and man's journey through this cosmography.

Scafi begins with the two interpretations of Eden in early Christian theology: the allegorical and the literal. In the Platonic view of Eden set out by the Judeo-Hellenic philosopher Philo, the garden was the rational human soul, its trees representing virtues and wisdom. The four rivers of Eden represented

Prudence, Courage, Self-Mastery, and Justice. Adam was the divine archetype, and the story of the Fall was one of moral struggle to return to divine perfection. Origen in Alexandria continued in this allegorical tradition: Eve, the heart, was married to Adam, the spirit, and as the heart succumbs to corporeal pleasures, the spirit is drawn away from divine perfection. The Garden of Eden was the perfected Church and the Tree of Life an allusion to Christ.

At the same time, however, John Chrysostom of Constantinople argued that Eden was a literal, physical place, and the story of the Fall happened in literal history. Augustine not only united these two trends but also gave Eden the theological and metaphorical power that made it a focus of attention for centuries: "The geography of Eden, initially a marginal aspect of Augustine's version of history, became an issue that snowballed through the Middle Ages and bequeathed to the modern period a conundrum which . . . has continued to haunt Western thought to the present day" (p. 47). The Paradise of medieval maps thus differed critically from depictions of other fantastical lands.

Paradise was both the beginning of time (the Eden of Genesis) and the end of time (the Heavenly City of Revelation). For this reason, Eden is depicted in many maps not as a green garden but as a walled city. A world map that did not include the Edenic Paradise left out not only central truths of salvation but also of the world as it was.

That is the big picture. The book's cornucopia of charms, however, lie in the details. Why did medieval and Renaissance thinkers locate the Garden of Eden in India, Ceylon, China, Armenia, Syria, Persia, Arabia, Africa, Palestine, the Alps, the Caspian, the South Pole, America, underground, or on the moon? Each had its implications for theology and history, and each had its geographical and theological justifications. What happened to the cherubim and the flaming sword set to guard Paradise? Were the fragrant spice branches found floating down the Nile really broken from trees in Eden? Did Alexander the Great and Ulysses succeed in their attempts to sail to Paradise? Why did Dante put Paradise on a mountain peak in the southern hemisphere? If north-oriented maps and east-oriented maps coexisted for centuries, why did the north-oriented maps eventually become standard, and what were the theological implications of this shift?

By the fourteenth century, the "honeymoon" of philosophy and theology had ended, and by 1500 it was already apparent to scholars, theologians, and geographers that no credible earthly location for the Edenic Paradise had been found. The allegorical reading revived with the ascendance of neo-Platonism, but literalists too found new explanations. Numerous Renaissance humanists now argued that Eden had been the whole earth, which had been transformed *in toto* by the Fall. Luther preached that Eden "was utterly destroyed and annihilated by the Flood" (qtd. on p. 267). Calvin, in his *Commentary on Genesis* (1553), put Eden in real space in Mesopotamia, but argued that its nature as Paradise had been transformed and lost. Calvin's argument, both rational and

theological, carries through to Bible-based mapmakers today, thus explaining the appearance of "Eden" on maps throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, showing what literally had existed in a historical time and place (usually somewhere in the Euphrates-Tigris delta of modern Iraq), but was now gone. That paradise is not only inaccessible but also, at least until the end of the world, unrecoverable. Paradise is thus ever present but always lost.

Scafi's discussion is always accessible and clear, and the illustrations are abundant and fascinating. Scafi deserves praise also for his simplified diagrams that complement detailed maps otherwise difficult to read. The list of maps from published and manuscript sources and the bibliography of literature in many languages and across several centuries are both superb.

Fairfield University CHERIE WOODWORTH

Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350. By Michael E. Goodich. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2007. Pp. xii, 148. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65875-7.)

As Gary Dickson notes in his "Appreciating Michael Goodich," which introduces this book, the late Goodich produced more than forty articles and ten books, including this one. The theme of most of this corpus was medieval saints, their miracles, and their hagiography. It is fitting, then, that *Miracles and Wonders* presents us with an overview of many of Goodich's earlier ideas and writings. Following an introduction, Goodich takes up the problem of the theology of miracle, tracing the development of the concept within a Christian context from the early patristic writings to the fully articulated scholasticism of Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Engelbert of Admont (d. 1331), who is perhaps a less familiar figure whose work Goodich helpfully explores. A chapter on miracles in medieval sermons emphasizes the polarities between a stress on the moral virtues of a saint and her or his wonder-working charisma; Goodich maintains that the "official" Church, supporting the first approach, found itself tugging against the preference for thaumaturgical fireworks preferred by what he calls "believers." Chapter 4 deals with skepticism within a "popular" milieu, in which Goodich calls attention to a continuing opposition to beliefs about miracles throughout the Middle Ages. He emphasizes the use of wonder-stories as propaganda against skeptics, including heretics, pagans, Muslims, and Jews. The chapter refers to punishment for blasphemy against the saints, political reasons for opposition to particular saints' cults, and the negative effects of what Goodich terms "clerical greed" in supporting cults. Chapter 5, on the theory and policy of dealing with miracles as presented in canonization records, analyzes the bureaucratic treatment of the causes of Elizabeth of Thuringia, Philip of Bourges, Louis IX, Celestine V, and Thomas of Hereford. Chapter 6, "Canonization and the Hagiographical Text," continues the study of procedures introduced in the previous chapter. Here the new thirteenth-

century legal standards required before accepting a miracle are examined, again—as is typical in Goodich's writings—with extensive examples. The penultimate chapter, on dream and vision in miracle reports, includes the interesting suggestion that perhaps some or many canonizations were inspired by papal visions. In his conclusion, Goodich emphasizes his contention that much of the Church's concern to develop a "rational" mode of miracle investigation evolved as a response to a need to defend the concept, and Christianity itself, against "its chief polemical opponent, Judaism and its new enemies, the heretics." The useful bibliography includes a list of primary sources in manuscript and print. Interestingly, there seems to be no reference to the works of Goeffrey di Trani (d. 1245) or Johannes Andreae (d. 1348), canonists whose analyses of miracle-proofs came be repeated at least into the sixteenth century. The list of secondary sources might have included the older but still useful works of Eric Kemp, Benedicta Ward, and Aviad Kleinberg. The specialist in medieval hagiography will find this a handy overview that includes some comments that might—as in any good study—evoke disagreement and the need for further investigation; but the book will be even more useful to those new to the field, fresh recruits to what Goodich called "the increasing army of scholars" attacking the problems of medieval hagiography.

Oakland University RONALD C. FINUCANE

St Margaret's Gospel-book: The Favourite Book of an Eleventh-Century Queen of Scots. By Rebecca Rushforth. [Treasures from the Bodleian Library.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. 114; 60 color illustrations. $45.00. ISBN 978-1-851-24370-9.)

In this slim, beautifully illustrated volume, Rebecca Rushforth presents the biography of a very precious historical witness to a defining era for the medieval kingdom of Scotland. Although set into the context of the life and career of Margaret (*c.*1046–93), second wife of King Malcolm III, the queen is not the primary focus here; it is her personal gospel-book that is the central character. Pre-twelfth-century manuscripts with Scottish connections are rare: pre-twelfth-century manuscripts possessing firm associations with a major figure in Scotland's history rarer still. The survival of this unique treasure—even more remarkable given its accidental loss in a river during Margaret's own lifetime, an event recorded by the queen's biographer and confirmed by a Latin poem inserted at the beginning of the gospel-book—provides a rare glimpse into the private thoughts and personal beliefs of a woman who had an immediate and profound influence on the shaping and directing of the spiritual, cultural, and political life of her husband's kingdom.

Although provided with full academic apparatus, the text is aimed at an informed lay readership. The historical context in which Margaret is set, the political relationships around her, and the complex kinship connections at the heart of which she and her husband stood are presented in a straightforward

narrative that flags up areas of contention and debate without becoming bogged down in detail. Likewise, the posthumous reputation of Margaret, the queen and saint, and the uses to which she was put as "the perfect princess" and a symbol of union and amity, are offered only in summary. It is in the third chapter that the text comes alive in an expanded discussion of the format of the book, the materials used, and how it was physically assembled, written, and illustrated. The context of its production highlights the level of elite female literacy in late Anglo-Saxon England and underscores the importance of nunneries like Romsey or Wilton as refuges for high-status women and preservers of native English culture in the immediate post-Conquest period. The discussion of the gospel-book's contents is cautious, raising the suggestion that the selection was personal to Margaret, but admitting that this cannot be proven. There is some limited analysis of the texts, their contents, and liturgical associations. Here, more consideration of the significance of the material chosen would have been helpful, perhaps offering clearer insight into its compiler's aims for the gospel-book.

Given the intended readership of the volume, there are few legitimate criticisms that can be made. It could be said that the historical narrative that underpins the discussion is oversimplified. For example, some more details of her childhood in the spiritual hothouse of mid-eleventh-century Hungary and the influence that her exposure there to the missionary zeal and reforming energy of the recently formed national church would, perhaps, have helped to set Margaret's personal faith firmly into context. That, possibly, might have permitted greater insight into the personal meanings for her that the gospel-book's content held or were intended to have by its maker. But a more detailed historical analysis would have changed the balance of the text and shifted the focus from the gospel-book to its owner. Instead, if we wish to know more about context, Rushforth points us in the direction of the main authorities. The book's one flaw is a copyediting error: the numbering of the illustrations does not correspond with the in-text references. But that is more of an irritation than a failure and does not detract from what is otherwise a splendid introduction to one of the Bodleian Library's lesser-known gems.

University of Stirling RICHARD D. ORAM

Teacher in Faith and Virtue: Lanfranc of Bec's Commentary on Saint Paul. By Ann Collins. [Commentaria. Sacred Texts and Their Commentaries: Jewish, Christian and Islamic, Vol. 1.] (Boston: Brill. 2007. Pp. x, 219. $129.00. ISBN 978-9-004-16347-8.)

Following the revamped dissertation tradition, Collins acknowledges previous scholars, here Margaret Gibson and H. E. J. Cowdrey, before launching her own maiden voyage. Ports of call include Bec, the manuscripts of Lanfranc's Pauline glosses, his use of the *artes*, the theology extracted from the text, and

his treatment of patristic authorities. Her venture yields fresh and valuable discoveries. But her revisionist stance is not always vindicated.

Most significant is Collins's analysis of the manuscripts. She adds one, first noted by Wilfried Hartmann, to Gibson's list, agreeing that the fullest and best is the earliest, Canterbury Cathedral Archives Add. MS. 172. It should serve as the base text for a new critical edition. And evaluations of Lanfranc's Pauline exegesis should be confined to it, since later manuscripts amplify or condense Lanfranc's comments or convert his glosses into a continuous commentary. Collins also illustrates and clearly explicates several types of Lanfranc's marginal glosses.

Other proposals of hers are less convincing. Collins treats the *Vita Lanfranci*, written by Milo Crispin, prior of Bec in the mid-twelfth century, as largely reliable, although Gibson and Cowdrey show, by cross-checking with other sources, that Crispin retrojects into the eleventh century the kind of Bec, and the kind of Lanfranc, he wants. In the absence of evidence, and despite countervailing evidence, Collins dates Lanfranc's Pauline glosses to the 1040s, just after he arrived at Bec, although the work required the library he began to assemble only after becoming prior in 1045. Lanfranc's earliest documentable work, his debate with Berengar of Tours, dates to the late 1050s. Gibson's and Cowdrey's dating of the Pauline glosses to ca. 1055–60 remains persuasive.

Collins accepts the *VL*'s claim that Lanfranc, in embracing monastic life, exchanged the *artes* for sacred literature. She estimates that he applies them to Paul only to explicate the apostle's own use of them. This assertion, however, depends on which passages of Lanfranc one cites. Both Gibson and Cowdrey show that he sometimes reformulates as logical syllogisms arguments not framed that way by Paul. Collins also narrows Lanfranc's audience and his Pauline theology, in comparison with these predecessors. Her citations focus on fundamental doctrine, as taught only to monks; Gibson and Cowdrey note Lanfranc's interest as well in church reform and practical ethics relevant to a broad Christian public. Even ignoring the evidence identifying many of Lanfranc's extern students as secular clerics destined to interact with lay people, this wider theological program is visible within Lanfranc's text.

Collins repeatedly describes Lanfranc as an exegetical neophyte, who yet improves in moving from Romans to Paul's other epistles. Increasingly surefooted, he also gives increasing support to the anti-Pelagian Augustine—via the *florilegium* of Florus of Lyons—in relation to Ambrosiaster, his other major patristic authority. Here, Collins overlooks one of her own most original findings as an interpretive strategy. She argues that Lanfranc seeks to understand each Pauline epistle in its historical context, attentive to the situation and composition of the apostle's local audience. If, indeed, Lanfranc could make these discriminations, it is likely that he could also discriminate among the patristic insights that he thought would apply, selectively, to Paul's message in each case. This interpretation is just as plausible, on Collins's own reading of

Lanfranc, as her own developmental and increasingly late-Augustinian view of him. Collins's innovative presentation of Lanfranc the historical critic of the Pauline epistles, coupled with a Lanfranc lacking analogous discernment in handling his authorities, signals the highs and lows of her contribution.

Yale University MARCIA L. COLISH

Thomas Becket and His Biographers. By Michael Staunton. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, Vol. XXVIII.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 246. $95.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83271-3.)

The materials for the life of Thomas Becket are substantial. In the Rolls series published between 1875 and 1885, they fill seven sturdy volumes. These contain correspondence relating to the archbishop's career and biographies written after his death, an event that shocked Western Christendom and provided a new perspective on his life. The correspondence has been re-edited—that of John of Salisbury by W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler, and Christopher Brooke in 1955 and 1979; that of Thomas Becket by Anne Duggan in 2004—in the Oxford Medieval Texts series. Becket's life and death as seen by his biographers have received more limited critical attention, and Staunton's clearly structured monograph meets a real need.

There are two main sections to this work. The first examines the chroniclers, the second the main themes of Becket's life: conversion, conflict, trial, exile, and martyrdom. Ten biographies are given extended treatment, of which two are anonymous. Three of the authors had been Becket's clerks: John of Salisbury, William fitz Stephen, and Herbert of Bosham (whose long biography is sensitively examined here). Three others—Edward Grim, Benedict of Peterborough, and William of Canterbury—were eyewitnesses to the murder and write vividly about it. Guernes, the only author writing in the vernacular, and Alan of Tewkesbury obtained their information secondhand. The chapters dealing with these authors pay particular attention to the modern literature. Where there is disagreement, as on the dating of the *Vita et Passio* by John of Salisbury (p. 26), Staunton tends to note this rather than advance his own opinion.

The chapter on conversion sets out to answer the question, "How do we explain the change from Thomas the worldly chancellor and friend of the king to Thomas the archbishop, champion of the Church?" (p. 75). It demonstrates how the literature on conversion was used to argue for the underlying consistency of Becket's actions. The theme does not appear in the letters, but it was a particular concern of Becket's biographers.

Two useful chapters deal with the disputes that preceded Becket's exile. Staunton is surprised that only two biographies mention Becket's resignation as chancellor after his appointment as archbishop and states that this combi-

nation of offices "was not unusual in twelfth-century Europe" (p. 98). This may have been the case elsewhere, but the English custom was that the position had to be relinquished. At a time when the customs of the king's ancestors, codified in the Constitutions of Clarendon, were the subject of debate, the king was unlikely to have objected. The importance of the office of chancellor may have been inflated because it was held by a future saint.

Becket spent the greater part of his short episcopate in exile, from October 1164 until a month before his martyrdom, and these years are covered in the most original chapter in the book. In going into exile, Becket was turning his back on many of his responsibilities, but his subsequent martyrdom, the subject of the final chapter, provided the defense for his action and changed the nature of the discussion. The exile could be seen quite plausibly as a stage in his conversion and a part of his journey toward martyrdom (p. 168).

This is an exemplary monograph. Staunton writes with clear, stylish detachment that never masks the importance of the issues raised by an iconic event of twelfth-century European history.

University of Sheffield EDMUND KING

Entre Champagne et Bourgogne: Beaumont, ancienne grange de l'abbaye cistercienne de Clairvaux. By Christophe Wissenberg. (Paris: Picard. 2007. Pp. 149. €29,00. ISBN 978-2-708-40787-9.)

This is a beautiful book about a Cistercian grange created in the twelfth century that straddles the boundaries of three parishes, the divide between two river valleys, and the boundaries of medieval Champagne and Burgundy. Beaumont is among those granges for which an impressive barn still stands, and the beautiful photographs of the interior and exterior both before and after recent restoration, along with the reproductions of surviving early modern maps and plans of the site make the publication well worthwhile. Its findings about an early grange of a crucial house of the Cistercian Order are clear. The Beaumont grange was located on land that had been cultivated earlier, but its tenants had disappeared and were replaced by Cistercian lay-brother laborers. The grange practiced a polyculture of cereal production and animal husbandry that drew on the resources of the nearby forest and wastelands, and it had access to the growing markets of the region—including provisioning towns holding the famous international fairs of Champagne.

A noteworthy finding is that the grange practiced a triennial rotation of spring and winter crops with fallow, which is indicated both in documents and later maps of the site. The description of how in the triennial rotation animals were fed not only on the lands designated as fallow for that year but also on the rest of the fields after harvest is masterly. Moreover, Clairvaux was such a large abbey that its twelfth-century granges like Beaumont actually had sub-

granges managed not from Clairvaux but from Beaumont, whose granger or grangemaster was superior to those in charge of subgranges. Finally, the popularity of Clairvaux and its influential abbot Bernard meant that during his lifetime the abbey acquired almost every property needed to complete compact holdings by seeking donations, whereas elsewhere Cistercian abbeys purchased land with cash.

I must quibble about the author's assertion that the monks of Clairvaux, in promising a perpetual annual rent or lifetime annuity to a former landowner in their occasional land transactions, thus engaged in time purchases. I also dispute that such purchases were infractions of Cistercian ideals. Similarly, in discussing the grange of Morins in the context of Clairvaux's other granges, Wissenberg has missed the impact of a dispute between the abbey of Saint-Benigne of Dijon and the priory of Morins. The abbey complained that in the 1170s its monks at Morins had allied themselves, their priory, and their lands with Clairvaux, entering that community as converts to the stricter religious life. In addition, there is some confusion about the distinction between meadows (Latin *pratum/a*) and pasture rights for animals, and the author seems to have missed the point that meadows were the most valuable landholdings in the medieval economy because they produced the hay used to feed animals over the winter. Still, this is, overall, an impressive and beautiful book, and the reader only wishes that more Cistercian granges should receive such loving attention.

University of Iowa, Iowa City CONSTANCE H. BERMAN

The Image of St. Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century. By Rosalind B. Brooke. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 524. $135.00. ISBN 978-0-521-78291-3.)

The volume is massive. Brooke offers an overwhelming wealth of historical information, and she covers multiple and varied areas of medieval study that in one way or another connect the reader to St. Francis of Assisi. Although an introductory brief statement identifies the book as "an important new study of the way in which St. Francis's image was recorded in literature, documents, architecture and art" (n.p.), the notion of "image" is loosely utilized throughout the book.

The notion of *image* serves more as a device to connect the multiple historical, literary, and artistic interests of the author. These interests consist of Francis's own writings, the earliest literature after Francis's death (Thomas of Celano's *Life of St. Francis,* etc.), the construction of the Basilica of St. Francis, the Expositions of the Rule, further hagiographical texts on Francis through the 1240s, emergence of new altar panels presenting the image of Francis, sermons and the *Legenda Maior* by St. Bonaventure as well as subsequent

later Leonine writings, and the decoration of the lower and upper churches of the Basilica, with special attention given to the St. Francis Cycle of the upper church. Finally, near the end of the volume there is a chapter on the nineteenth-century rediscovery of Francis's body and then a final chapter on Blessed Angela of Foligno's image of St. Francis. Unfortunately, St. Clare's image of St. Francis never appears.

The eleven chapters of the book more closely resemble a collection of fascinating encyclopedia articles on very interesting topics. In a footnote at the beginning of chapter 7, the author acknowledges that the chapter is based on lectures delivered in Cambridge in the late 1970s and 1980s. This confirms the impression that substantial parts of some of the chapters represent research done earlier in the author's long and distinguished academic career. Several repetitions in different chapters, especially dealing with Joachim of Fiore, also pointed in this direction.

Once the reader forgets about the title of the book, there is easy entry into the study and library of Rosalind Brooke, where abundant knowledge can be harvested of thirteenth-century (mostly Italian) culture, art, and papal politics, all of which contribute to the context for understanding St. Francis and some aspects of literary and artistic origins of the Franciscan tradition. This is the strength of the volume. It makes more historical information on Francis of Assisi and on the efforts to promote his memory and his cult available in one volume than exists in several volumes.

Much comes together for the completion of the frescos of the upper church with the election of the first Franciscan pope, Nicholas IV (Jerome of Ascoli) in 1288, especially when he collaborates with his friend and successor as minister general, Matthew of Aquasparta. Brooke offers a wealth of information that lies behind the completion of the frescos. However, when it comes to her interpretation of the three tiers of frescos in the nave of the upper church, the shadows of Ubertino of Casale, Sabbatier, and Moorman linger. Ironically, she overlooks the mystical, biblical, and theological vision of St. Bonaventure that inspired the frescos and appeals to St. Thomas of Aquinas to substantiate her "historical and literal" reading of the frescos. In doing this, the rich theology and symbols behind the texts and frescos that are emphasized in recent studies are missed.

Saint Louis University WAYNE HELLMANN, O.F.M. CONV.

The Interdict in the Thirteenth Century: A Question of Collective Guilt. By Peter D. Clarke. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 300. $117.00. ISBN 978-0-199-20860-9.)

Bishop Stubbs once described the interdict as the medieval Church's most suicidal weapon (p. 171)—suicidal because it all but invited the laity to turn

its back on the Church. An interdict was a penal sanction in the medieval canon law barring everyone subjected to it from participation in most of the Church's sacraments. It could be imposed on an individual, but more typically it fell upon a locality, even (as in the famous case of the English King John) upon an entire kingdom. Its design was to put pressure on a person responsible for an offense against the Church by depriving those who were connected with that person of access to the services of the Church. This book is a useful study of the subject, although it is a limited one. Its author sticks resolutely to evidence from the thirteenth century. The curious reader will probably want to know more about the origins of the interdict, its relation to the Roman law interdict, and its history in later centuries.

The book deals with the subject in two parts. The first is the interdict's place in the canon law of the thirteenth century. The initial task of the jurists was classification: fixing the different forms of the sanction, distinguishing it from excommunication, clarifying its consequences, and listing the exceptions that were being carved out to soften its effect. For example, crusaders, charitable workers, and noblemen were often given freedom to hear religious offices in interdicted locations (pp. 136–38). The subsequent task of bringing interdicts within principles of divine and natural law proved harder. Interdicts touched the innocent, thus violating the established rule that punishment should be reserved for the guilty, and they were often imposed by aggrieved parties, thus posing a conflict in acting as judge in their own cause that was contrary to principles of natural law. Could any reason but practical advance of the Church's material interests be given for allowing interdicts? Yes, as it turns out, reasons were found. Biblical example and exploration of the nature of collective guilt provided answers of a sort. Indeed, interdicts led the canonists into some fruitful discussions of the right relation between kings and their subjects.

The book's second part consists of an examination of the interdict in action. Those placed on San Gemignano, Dax, and Béziers are examined in detail. Others are noted more briefly. Countermeasures taken by secular rulers are explored, and reactions common within the laity are discussed. There is enough evidence to show that the laity resented the imposition of these interdicts. Why should they continue to pay tithes to a clergy that had gone out on strike? Why should a mortuary payment be due when burial in consecrated ground was forbidden? All the ingenuity of the canonists fell short of providing convincing answers to such questions, although they certainly tried. It must have been at least in part the result of such resentment that territorial interdicts were imposed less frequently as time went on. The thirteenth century seems to have been the high watermark.

The question remains: Did the interdict work? The book faces it squarely and gives a qualified but affirmative answer. Medieval men thought the interdict "worth being free from" (p. 218). They were willing to give up their own interests in favor of those of the Church to escape it. It thus turned out to be less than suicidal in practice. Longer term results are harder to assess, and

Clarke wisely avoids speculating about them. The result is a balanced presentation of a controversial subject.

University of Chicago R. H. HELMHOLZ

The St. Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora *of Thomas Walsingham.* Vol. 1: *1376–1394.* Edited by John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss. [Oxford Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. cxxi, 1030. $403.50. ISBN 978-0-198-20471-8.)

The Benedictine monks of St. Albans Abbey were the most prolific of all English medieval chroniclers. There may have been those of superior scholarship (William of Malmesbury) and those that captured a wider audience (Ranulf Higden), but none that could match either the scale or the remarkable continuity of their historical enterprise, which encompassed a succession of (sometimes synoptic) chronicles compiled between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The significance of their achievement and the historical, political, and public value of their work were recognized by the first generation of English antiquarians who did much to recover their manuscripts in the wake of the Dissolution and to present their version of history to a new readership. The new English histories of Hall and Holinshed even ensured that the St. Albans stories of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V became embedded in the Shakespearean history cycle. Their early assimilation into the national narrative, however, led to long centuries of neglect, and it was only after the inception of the Rolls series (1857) that a systematic attempt was made to recover each chronicle from the extant manuscripts. These editions reflected many weaknesses of the Rolls project as a whole, such as the arbitrary selection of manuscripts for transcription and the imposition of titles and textual subdivisions of the editors' own invention. Yet modern scholars have been notably slow to re-examine them in spite of their singular mistreatment. There have been a handful of interpretative studies, but the core texts themselves remain untouched. An Arts and Humanities Research Council project to re-edit Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora* remains stalled after more than a decade, and his, and the later medieval narratives, are among the diminishing number of English medieval authorities still routinely cited from the nineteenth-century transcriptions. The groundwork for a revision of the Rolls series editions was laid seventy years ago by V. H. Galbraith, whose pioneering research included the recovery of a fifteenth-century St. Albans recension omitted from the original Rolls sequence. Fittingly, it is a former pupil of Galbraith, John Taylor, together with his Leeds colleague Wendy Childs and Latinist Leslie Watkiss, who now aim to continue the work and to complete a new edition of the chronicle commonly attributed to Thomas Walsingham (*c.* 1340–*c.* 1422). Taylor has immersed himself in the histories of fourteenth-century England for the past fifty years, and his knowledge of the development and descent of the principal narratives, from St. Albans and from other houses, remains unrivaled.

Walsingham's *Chronica* was the largest of the late-medieval chronicles compiled by a single author at St. Albans, and its coverage, some forty-six years or so, is comparable to Paris's own Herculean labors. Walsingham has always suffered by comparison with his thirteenth-century predecessor. His manuscripts lack Matthew's lavish illustrations, and the quality of his writing has been disparaged in the same way as much of the monastic literature of the later Middle Ages; indeed, although almost nothing of Walsingham's own life and character can be recovered from the sources, as Taylor and Childs aver, he is often characterized in almost Chaucerian terms as another self-interested monk whose writing suffered from clerical chauvinism and a signal inability to engage sympathetically with the world beyond the precinct walls. As the editors assert in their one-hundred-page introduction, however, Walsingham was an exceptionally well-informed witness to a remarkable period of almost revolutionary change. There is no contemporary narrative to compare to his coverage, successively, of the Good Parliament (1376), the Peasants' revolt (1381), and the rising of the Appellants (1387), which all appear in this volume. Walsingham was susceptible to gossip and hearsay, as well as to a certain selectivity in his reporting, but, as the editors elaborate here, his historical method was not measurably different from his high medieval models. His reportage reflected a close and critical reading of the contemporary documents and newsletters to which St. Albans continued to have privileged access—thirty-nine of which the editors identify here—and as wide a range of high-profile personal informants as that cultivated by his predecessors. Nor was Walsingham's narrative afflicted by the narrow localism with which monastic chronicles of the later period are commonly characterized. A most striking feature of the fourteenth-century section of his *Chronica* edited here is the extent to which English affairs are set in a European context and the fortunes of her near neighbors (Flanders, France) and the former great powers (Empire, Roman Papacy) are treated as narratives in their own right. In these respects Walsingham's work serves as a reminder that in the greater abbeys and priories of the period there remained a degree of interest and insight beyond the instinctive and increasingly defensive focus on the fortunes of house, order, and ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Taylor and Child's Latin text marks a significant advance on the corresponding Rolls series volumes completed between 1862 and 1874. By contrast with Paris's chronicle, Walsingham's narrative survives in a succession of manuscript fragments close in date to the original composition but of which only one may be confidently connected with Walsingham himself. Taylor and Childs have steered a steady course through these codicological complexities although there is a certain disappointment in their conclusions, which do not diverge significantly from the 1937 verdict of Galbraith. Like their distinguished predecessor, the structure of the narrative and its objective historical value are of greater interest to the editors than its literary qualities, or its evident connections to the intellectual culture of the monastic community at St. Albans. The discussion of Walsingham's literary archetypes is limited, and the

relationship of the *Chronica maiora* to his other works on ancient history and classical literature receives only cursory treatment.

The conservatism of the editors is reflected in the critical apparatus that accompanies the text, which is more reminiscent of early Oxford medieval texts (and their predecessor, Nelson's medieval texts) than of recent volumes. The explanatory notes are short, sporadic, and insufficient to highlight the significance and originality of Walsingham's treatment for newcomers, either to the text or the period. References to the representation of the text in the key early manuscripts also appear only sparingly in spite of the significant differences, appearing by turns as *Chronica maiora*, a *Polychronicon* continuation, and a discrete *Historia regis Ricardi secundi*. The index is sometimes scant support for readers seeking to navigate nearly 1000 pages of narrative and contains a number of niggling omissions. It is hoped these shortcomings will be addressed in the second volume.

After an extended shelf life of almost 140 years, it is inevitable that this edition will supersede the equivalent Rolls series volumes. The translation is fluent and faithful for the most part. The editors are remarkably reticent on the questions raised by the text, its manuscript tradition, and the cultural context of its author and audience. These are matters that the reader would want to be addressed in the subsequent, second volume, but for now, the interested reader must turn elsewhere.

University of Bristol JAMES G. CLARK

Fiat Lux: Lumière et luminaires dans la vie religieuse en Occident du XIIIe au début du XVIe siècle. By Catherine Vincent. [Histoire religeuse de la France, 24.]. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2004. Pp. 693. €44,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-07304-2.)

Catherine Vincent is a professor of medieval history and director of the Department of History at the University of Paris X–Nanterre, who specializes in religious and social history of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. In this ample study, she explores both manufactured sources of light (oil lamps and especially wax candles) and the theme of light in religious life in the late Middle Ages.

Vincent divides the book into three parts. Part 1 studies the *ministerium lucernarum*. After a preliminary chapter exploring the patristic background, Vincent devotes three chapters to the practicalities of light. Although required for worship, candles and lamps are secondary elements. Vincent describes the manufacture of lights that involves oil, wax, lamps, and candlesticks; their distribution within the church building; and their maintenance by various groups. She ends with the economics of lighting churches.

Part 2 considers the sign value of the *flamme ardente*. Light is a sign of honor: of persons, times, seasons, and especially of the Eucharist. Light is a sign of the presence of the divine: symbolized in the Paschal Candle and in the kingdom of light (the dwelling of God, Mary, and the saints), and contrasted to the kingdom of darkness. Light is a sign of communion: candles mark the sacramental celebration of unity or reconciliation of the Christian community.

Part 3 presents those who "share in the light." Various groups shared the responsibilities for providing and maintaining light. Candles are important in individual piety, although sometimes used in superstitious or diabolical practices. Candles function in the ceremonies involving funerals and burials.

The conclusion considers the impact of the Reformation on the use of light in Christian worship and the rejection of externals such as candles by some Reformers. Modern lighting technology and Vatican II reforms enter into Vincent's final reflections.

The final material includes six medieval supporting documents and a list of sources. Three indices (organized by places, names, and themes) and lists of tables and documents round out the book.

This is an exhaustive and at times exhausting work. Vincent states several times that the use of lamps and candles is of secondary importance in Christian life and worship, although her lengthy chapters sometimes belie this fact. By using a variety of sources, Vincent presents a fascinating overview of the religious, political, and economic factors in late-medieval Europe, especially France. It is social history of a detailed and comprehensive sort. Despite the seeming narrowness of the initial focus, Vincent paints a picture of the life and times of medieval Europe that contributes to the growing body of literature on the social history of Christian worship and liturgy.

Vincent's comments on contemporary worship are less helpful. After judicious summaries and conclusions based on painstaking research, Vincent is glib in characterizing contemporary use of candles in Catholic churches with several unsubstantiated anecdotes. A single article stands for current reflection on the role of light in liturgy. The same rigor in supporting the conclusions as in the overall narrative would have increased their value.

This reservation aside, Vincent has provided an important contribution to the growing body of social history of medieval liturgy and life.

The Catholic University of America MICHAEL G. WITCZAK

The Feast of Corpus Christi. By Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 562. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-271-02924-5.)

In the twentieth century six names are associated with the historical and liturgical study of the feast of Corpus Christi, namely Peter Browe (1928), Cyrille Lambot (1942), L. M. J. Delaissé (1950), Pierre-Marie Gy (1980), Ronald Zawilla (1985), and Miri Rubin (1991). To this impressive list of scholars we now must add three more names: Barbara Walters, Vincent Corrigan, and Peter Ricketts. The present volume represents a collaboration of perhaps what will remain the definitive work on the subject dealing with multiple dimensions of the feast, treating the multiple versions of the original Latin liturgy, complete transcriptions of the music associated with the feast, and a set of poems in Old French with English translations. In part 1, Walters provides a well-researched historical essay starting with the hagiographic *vitae* of Juliana of Mont Cornillon, the thirteenth-century religious leader of Liège whose vision of the moon missing a quarter of its form led to the invention of the feast—first in the Lowlands and later in the universal Latin Church. The historical chapter moves beyond the legendary to give an honest and scholarly appraisal of Juliana's role in Flemish society and the Church of her day. The feast of Corpus Christi owes its origins to the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which established the doctrine of transubstantiation in its attempts to resolve the eucharistic disputes of the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. Yet the feast was not added to the universal calendar of the Church until 1264 after an interesting period of reception. The most striking alterations happened after 1261 when St. Thomas Aquinas turned to shaping the liturgical Office and the Mass for the feast, including the composition of several eucharistic hymns. Part 2 consists of an introductory essay to the musical component and critical editions of seven late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth-century manuscripts from the period of 1269 to 1320. Vincent Corrigan, using the critical tools of musicology, traces the transmission of three major offices associated with the feast: *Animarum cibus* (the original office associated directly with Juliana), *Sapiencia edificavit* (found in a manuscript preserved in Prague at the Abbey of Strahov), and *Sacerdos in aeternum* (attributed to Aquinas and the basis for the contemporary liturgical books). Although the team has uncovered additional manuscripts since the appearance of the book, the critical edition of the seven manuscripts represents state-of-the-art musicological research, classifying each musical item by genre, manuscript, incipit, mode identification, identification of concordances between manuscripts, and liturgical usage for each item. Part 3 consists of an introductory essay dealing with vernacular poetry and a critical edition of twenty Old French poems of Mosan Psalters that are associated with the feast of Corpus Christi and that are in a dialect associated with Liège. Ricketts studied thirteen manuscripts dating roughly from 1230 to 1330 that contain poems intended largely as metric psalms for lay breviaries and as prayers to be recited at Mass like a lay missal. The origins for such vernacular settings aimed

at the béguines who in their vernacular fashion imitated the Divine Office that was recited in Latin by clerics and in monastic communities. The inclusion of Corpus Christi material in such vernacular poems attests to the growing popularity of the feast and the desire of the Church that this feast be received and disseminated at a popular level. Beyond the content of this book that is stellar, this volume distinguishes itself as a monument to collaborative research and a must-have for any serious scholar of the liturgy.

University of Notre Dame MICHAEL S. DRISCOLL

Spain, 1157–1300. A Partible Inheritance. By Peter Linehan. (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 2008. Pp. xviii, 284. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-631-17284-0.)

This volume, according to its publishers, is the latest and the tenth in a series on the whole of Spanish history from prehistoric times to the present day. It spans a period of roughly 150 years in 234 pages of text. In the preface the author notes the publisher's "ration of words"—as well he might. The overarching difficulty is that there was no such thing as Spain, as we would conceptualize it, during that time period. There were, instead, five different kingdoms in Christian Iberia; Castile, León, Portugal, Navarra, and Aragón-Catalonia that collectively then boasted no fewer than twenty-nine kings. Muslim Iberia during those years participated in the decay of one African empire, the Almoravid, and the meteoric rise, followed by the more leisurely collapse, of another African empire, the Almohad, this latter resulting in the emergence of a host of splinter, or *taifa,* kingdoms, shortly to be conquered from the Christian north. Hence, perhaps, this volume's laconic subtitle.

Given the series' limitations of space, only an approach tightly organized along defined thematic lines (such as demography, town resettlement and organization, political institutional development, and cultural elaboration) and devoted exclusively to Christian or Muslim Iberia could have succeeded. The traditional narrative of political, court, military, and diplomatic events could only produce a concatenation of factual materials bewildering for the interested amateur historian and relatively profitless for the scholar.

The author takes to task the Latin chroniclers of thirteenth-century Castile for neglecting the richness of the full Iberian historical development by their construction of an account centered upon that kingdom with only asides and occasional excursions to the other political entities of the peninsula. This charge is not novel; indeed, it is a central issue in Iberian historiography. The diverse panorama presented by the period and the peninsula defies orderly presentation, and regrettably, Linehan's approach is not ideal. He resorts frequently to courtiers', troubadors', and travelers' accounts to frame, relieve, and enliven otherwise trying stretches of packed, political detail. Unfortunately, that technique often presents difficulties in the subjectivity of accounts such as the Welsh chronicler who asserts that some 3,000 Muslim women were slaugh-

tered at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. In addition, Linehan's highly charged language virtually convicts the queen-regent, Berenguela, of assassinating the young Enrique I, her brother, in 1217 in an effort to favor her son, the future Fernando III. However, the available evidence does not support this conclusion.

There are, however, more serious deficiencies in this volume. The uninitiated could depart it virtually unaware that the kings in Iberia during this period put a term to Muslim dominance in the peninsula. The author treats the actions of rulers in Portugal, Castile, León, Navarra, and Aragón-Catalonia and the flourishing literary and scientific scholarship in the region in an episodic and intermittent fashion that obscures their cohesion and importance as major historical phenomena. Such an approach makes it difficult to determine the audience for which this book was designed.

Villanova University (Emeritus) BERNARD F. REILLY

Captives and Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon. By Jarbel Rodriguez. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 225. $64.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21475-7.)

Jarbel Rodriguez's book is a welcome addition to the renewed interest in captivity and ransom in medieval societies, a hitherto somewhat neglected topic in the military-social historiography of the period. Roughly divided into two parts, the division between the vicissitudes of the captives and their saviors makes for a useful organizational principle. The epilogue examines the captives' rehabilitation and reintegration into their societies following their release.

Chapter 1, "Falling into Captivity," attributes this phenomenon in the Aragonese arena mostly to raids or piracy. Friars and other religious functionaries, including members of the ransoming orders, were also exposed. In its description of the gruesome conditions of captivity, the second chapter, "Life in Captivity," adds little of note. The universality of descriptions of chains, shackles, hard work, and undernourishment and their incorporation into a literary genre are well known (pp. 62–64). Rodriguez's attempt to use every scrap of information at his disposal leads to some mistaken attributions; for example, his identification of the chained and shackled Christian captives visited by Franciscans as Iberians (p. 44 n. 26) fails to take into account that *c.* 1320 most captives in Egypt would probably still have been prisoners of war from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

The book's second part turns to the liberation of captives. Here the author attributes to the crown of Aragon the development of one of the most elaborate ransoming systems in Christian Europe by the fourteenth century, with private ransomers (family), crown and ecclesiastical officials, merchants, sea captains, and ransoming orders working in conjunction. The party acting on behalf of the captive usually made an advance payment, ordinarily about half

the sum, and the ransom agreement included stipulations as to how and when the rest of the money would be paid. A captive could spend years, even decades, however, awaiting the next ransoming expedition. Rodriguez's treatment of the technical aspects of ransom, such as prices, negotiations, and the safety of return, is meticulous and puts the Spanish archives to good use.

The concluding chapter switches from historical narrative to anthropological description. Relying on Victor Turner and Arnold Van Gennep, it portrays the return from captivity as a liminal phenomenon, shedding light on the ceremonies of thanksgiving as well as the public rituals that served to reincorporate the captives into the Christendom from which they had been absent for so long. The rites defined the transition from the status of one who had been away to that of one who has returned. Marching together under the crosses, Marian images, and the royal pennons gave coherence to a varied group that included monarchs, nobles, clerics, common soldiers, and captives, culminating in a public Mass—symbolizing incorporation into Christianity.

The book focuses on Aragonese society as a "society organized for ransoming." Its claim that the diverse ransomers—the captive's family, the crown, the ransoming orders, the municipal officers, and the Church—all worked in a complementary fashion to help captives gain their freedom is perhaps oversimplified. It contrasts with crusader society in the Latin East where these sectors were usually mutually exclusive and a development from private to institutional responsibility can be traced. In the epilogue Rodriguez shows that this harmonious Aragonese communal effort often broke down into petty rivalries.

Another noteworthy feature of the book is how Rodriguez draws the reader's interest by starting each chapter with a story or rather a snapshot of a situation. Especially effective in the opening chapter, for the next two chapters the repetitive, schematic structure becomes a little tiresome. In the second part, from chapter 4 onward, the author varies the pattern. When he returns to this technique in the epilogue, it serves him well as a tool for the analysis of a fourteenth-century ritual to facilitate the captives' reintegration into society. Overall, Rodriguez's useful analysis of captivity and ransom in Aragon adds another significant piece to the portrayal of these processes in medieval Christian societies.

Bar-Ilan University, Israel YVONNE FRIEDMAN

Ockham and Political Discourse in the Late Middle Ages. By Takashi Shogimen. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, Vol. 69.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 301. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-521-84581-6.)

This latest monograph on Ockham's political thought is close in spirit to much earlier publications, especially to Arthur Stephen McGrade's *The*

Political Thought of William of Ockham (1974), which it frequently cites and debates, sometimes with approval, sometimes not. Except for sporadic text-critical utilizations, Shogimen's volume ignores the British Academy's ongoing edition of Ockham's *Dialogus* (1995–) with its useful introductions and analyses.

Shogimen rejects "anything like a 'unity' or a 'system' in Ockham's polemic activities" (pp. 32–33). Nevertheless, he then asserts that he will be presenting Ockham's views as a series of "consistent responses from a constant perspective to a variety of changing issues." Such ambiguous self-contradictions abound in Shogimen's book, in comments on Ockham no less than on scholarly assessments of his positions. He clarifies his fundamental conclusion in two main contexts (pp.34–35, pp. 261–62), suggesting that Ockham was not a destructive critic of medieval ecclesiastical institutions, a traditionalist conservative opposing papal innovations, a Franciscan ideologue, nor a constitutional liberal, but rather an "'ecclesiastical republican', a republican in the medieval ecclesiological context" (p. 258), who "restored the language of morality in late mediaeval political discourse" (p. 262) by exhorting his fellows "to fulfill their public duties in the Christian community" (p. 261).

The challenge of an accurate political labeling of Ockham cannot be resolved save through painstaking analysis of his tracts, especially the *Dialogus*. Convincing scholarship requires a sound method of interpretation and a correct reading of the text. Shogimen's monograph is sometimes weak in both respects. He has no discernible approach toward textual identities other than "agreeing with Kilcullen and Knysh" (p. 76, n. 1).This seems impressionistic and arbitrary. No one in agreement with *Political Ockhamism*'s pp. 237–42 could, for instance, claim that Ockham thought the true faith might temporarily reside in the mind of an infant (pp. 104, 238). Even more serious are Shogimen's lapses as to proper textual reporting. One example suffices, although more could be adduced. Crucial to Shogimen's thesis that Ockham was an "ecclesiastical republican" is the contention that he accepted the possibility of drastic constitutional change in the Church (e.g., aristocratic government), due to his alleged rejection of "papal" (as contrasted to "Petrine") primacy (pp. 175–231). Copiously citing 3 *Dialogus* 1 in evidence, Shogimen fails to inform his readers that in 3 *Dialogus* 1.2.25 Ockham categorically ruled out the "aristocratic" scenario as contravening Christ's ordination and took his stand firmly on traditional Catholicism. Nor did Ockham play modernistic games with papal primacy. There are multiple texts in 3 *Dialogus* 1 (the best are in 3 *Dial*. 1.1.16 and 17, both left unmentioned by Shogimen) where Ockham clearly stated that primacy was granted by Christ to Peter "*et successoribus suis.*" Equally devastating for the theory of a "republican" Ockham is his *ad nauseam* repetition in the *Dialogus* that his *communitas christianorum* was strictly regulated on the basis of *status et gradus*, a view that does not correlate at all with Shogimen's anachronistic presentation of an equalitarian Christian fellowship founded on cognitive criteria (p. 259).

The failure of an author's fundamental idea does not condemn his enterprise to residual insignificance. Georges de Lagarde is a case in point. Shogimen's monograph is not as constructively creative as McGrade's, as comprehensively truth-building as Jürgen Miethke's, or as delightfully provocative and insightful as Brian Tierney's Ockham chapters and articles. Despite the weaknesses noted, Shogimen offers interesting contributions to our understanding of the politics of the *Venerabilis Inceptor*. His constant comparisons of Ockham to his contemporaries in their treatment of common theoretical issues are original and informative, and his frequent attempts to relate Ockham's technical philosophy to his polemic output are enlightening. For this, and for some other microanalyses, Shogimen's volume may be deemed a worthwhile addition to recent *res ockhamisticae*.

University of Manitoba GEORGE KNYSH

Figure e motivi della contemplazione nelle teologie medievali. By Barbara Faes de Mottoni. [Micrologus Library, 18.] (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galuzzo. 2007. Pp. 181. €37,00 paperback. ISBN 978-888-450215-5.)

This volume collects six articles, two hitherto unpublished, about the writings of thirteenth-century theologians on contemplation. The author, a specialist in medieval theology, is as analytically skillful as are the writings she studies. The footnotes reproduce the Latin texts analyzed, making it easier to follow and evaluate her expositions. Access to the varied articles is facilitated by a helpful introduction; summary conclusions at the end of each one; general indices of names, biblical passages, and manuscripts cited; and a bibliography of primary and secondary sources. In my discussion that follows, I have translated the article titles from Italian.

The article "Moses and Paul: Examples of Contemplation and of Rapture in the Theology of the Thirteenth Century" examines various perspectives on mystical visions. Some medieval authors—Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, and St. Bonaventure—influenced by Pseudo-Dionysius, assert that the mystical experiences of Moses (Exod. 19:18; 33:11–23) were not as lofty as Paul's when he was snatched (*raptus*) to the third heaven (2 Cor. 12: 2–4). Others—Thomas Aquinas (who distinguishes several levels of contemplation in the biblical statements about Moses) and Matthew of Aquasparta—drawing on Augustine, identify Moses as the lawgiver of the Old Testament and Paul as the apostle of the Gentiles, and think it therefore fitting that the two seers had equivalent contemplative experiences. Matthew of Aquasparta adds the argument that for our consolation God gave both the lawgiver and the apostle a taste of the beatific vision to which their teaching and commands are meant to lead us.

The article "Active Life and Contemplative Life in William of Auxerre and Roland of Cremona" asserts the superiority of the contemplative life, with

some qualifications. Roland argues against William on several points and adds the argument that the higher reason, which is the power involved in contemplation, also governs the work of the lower reason, which is concerned with the active life.

The article "*Et audivit arcana verba quae non licet homini loqui*. Arcana, Secrets, and Mysteries in Theology at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century: Robert Grosseteste, William of Auxerre, and Roland of Cremona" focuses on the *arcana* seen by Paul. The author begins with a helpful survey of the meaning of the three terms in the title, then expounds the various thirteenth-century interpretations according to which the arcana were totally incommunicable, incommunicable only to the more advanced, or communicable in a mode other than the one in which they were seen.

The article "Pleasure and Sorrow in Contemplation" considers pleasure and sorrow in Albert the Great's question on Paul's rapture and Thomas Aquinas's on pleasure in contemplation (*Sum. Theo*. 2–2, 10, 1.7), but concentrates on St. Bonaventure's richer treatment, especially in the *Itinerarium*.

The article "Auditory Events and Mystical Experience in Some Theological Itineraries of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages" contrasts the strictly allegorical interpretation of the sound of the trumpets connected with Moses' meeting with God in Gregory of Nyssa and Pseudo-Dionysius and his medieval commentators, with the role of bells and other sounds and sensations in visionary experiences of Margaret of Cortona and Gertrude of Helfta.

The article "Aspects of the Doctrine of Contemplation in Hugh of Balma" studies the writings of a Carthusian strongly influenced by Pseudo-Dionysius's *Mystical Theology* as interpreted by Thomas Gallus of Vercelli, who gave it an affective emphasis, which Hugh accentuates. Hugh contrasts his understanding of contemplation with those of Augustine and Richard of St. Victor.

The book impresses the reader with the deep interest of the scholastics (and of Faes de Mottoni) in contemplation and the states of consciousness associated with it, and their subtle analysis of Scripture and the varied sources—Augustinian, Pseudo-Dionysian, and Aristotelian—on which they drew.

Monastery of the Ascension, Jerome, Idaho HUGH FEISS, O.S.B.

Simone Atumano: Monaco di Studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe. Secolo XIV. Seconda edizione riveduta e aumentata. By Giorgio Fedalto [Storia del cristianesimo, 2.] (Brescia: Paideia Editrice. 2007. Pp. 205. €22,00. ISBN 978-8-839-40741-2.)

Officially first published in 1968 (although the publisher's Web site gives the date as 1969), Fedalto's book has long been the best study available of this

most interesting and, in some ways, still mysterious fourteenth-century churchman. Despite the omission of the photographs and map that appeared in the first edition, the new edition is, as its subtitle advertises, a substantially revised and enlarged version of the original book.

Most Anglophones know of Simon Atumanos from Kenneth Setton's discussion in "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 100.1 (1956). But, in fact, Atumanos's significance extends far beyond his modest connection to the Italian Renaissance. Born between 1310 and 1318 in a family of Turkish extraction (his father's or his family's name was Othman), Simon took his monastic name (his baptismal name is unknown, although Byzantine monastic practice makes it virtually certain that it started with "S") when at an uncertain date he entered the famous monastery "of the Studion" in Constantinople dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Since in 1348 Simon succeeded the celebrated anti-Hesychast Barlaam of Calabria as the bishop of Gerace in Calabria, Fedalto reasonably supposes that both met in Constantinople. On the basis of the phrase "litterarum scientia praeditum" in the papal appointment document, Fedalto also supposes that Simon knew Latin by the time he became bishop of Gerace. In 1359–62, Simon was back in Constantinople, where he had an interview with Emperor John V, to which the great Demetrius Cydones referred in 1364 in the first of his three letters to Simon. Two years later, when Simon was probably in the papal Curia in Avignon, Pope Urban V transferred him from Gerace to the Latin bishopric of Thebes (to be distinguished from the Greek Orthodox bishopric of the same locale). Simon took up residence in Thebes and remained there until 1380, apart from a mission to the West in 1372 and another to Constantinople in 1374–75. The last years of his life in exile from Thebes are murky. About 1381 he was in Rome, where he taught Greek to the Dutch ecclesiastic Radulph de Rivo. There also survives a papal safe-conduct of May 1383 for him to go "ad partes Constantinopolitanas." Given that the pope appointed a new bishop of Thebes in 1387, Simon must have died that year or the year before.

As Mercati demonstrated in 1916, Simon himself was responsible for the Greek translation from the Hebrew found in the fragment of a trilingual Bible in MS Marc. 7 (= 377) (Fedalto fails to supply the required *collocazione* number). Simon also made a translation into Latin of Plutarch's *De Cohibenda Ira* that attracted the attention of the important humanist Coluccio Salutati. We do not know as to where, when, and how Simon learned Hebrew and Latin, but when these linguistic skills are combined with his religious and diplomatic endeavors at the highest levels, Simon clearly emerges as one of the more interesting and intriguing figures of the fourteenth century. It is regrettable that so little information about him has survived.

Fedalto, a most distinguished historian of the Greek and Latin Churches in the East, has filled in the blank spots as best he could. In the process, we learn a good deal from a master about the sees of Gerace and Thebes, Barlaam of

Calabria and the Hesychast controversy, and the political-ecclesiastical politics of the fourteenth century. In the appendices Fedalto also supplies the best list available today of the Latin bishops of Thebes, a collection of documents relevant for Simon, and a detailed analysis of Demetrius Cydones's three letters to Simon.

University at Albany, State University of New York JOHN MONFASANI

John Capgrave's Fifteenth Century. By Karen A. Winstead. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 233. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-812-23977-5.)

Karen Winstead's title is a teasing one, but it is also potentially somewhat misleading. Anyone who expects that the book will be demonstrate either that John Capgrave had a special insight into the historical affairs of his time or that his outlook on those affairs was typical of the age will find that Winstead has a rather different objective. Her primary interest, as her previous work on Capgrave foreshadows, is in Capgrave as a hagiographer, although she endeavors to demonstrate that his bias in that task was not the conventional one. Far from typifying the fifteenth century or its attitudes, Winstead aims to establish Capgrave's individuality, even eccentricity.

Capgrave was an Augustinian friar, born in 1393 at King's Lynn. He studied in Cambridge, became prior provincial of his order in the 1450s, and died in 1464. Most notably, he was confessor to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, for several years until the latter's sudden death in 1447. He authored a number of vernacular saints' lives, in prose and in verse; two histories of his own country, one in Latin, the other in English; an English guide to the churches of Rome; and various scriptural commentaries in Latin, not all of which survive. Despite earlier hostile criticism, both for his literary skills and for his apparently lukewarm political loyalties, recent work has attempted to rehabilitate Capgrave's reputation. Peter Lucas, who could have been cited more often here, has been concerned with Capgrave's involvement with the production of books. Winstead's primary focus is on the content and outlook of some of the saints' lives, such as Katherine, a version of which she edited in 1999. Given the inclusion of *fifteenth century* in the book's title, the reader may be surprised that Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Chronicles* does not feature more prominently, even though its narrative ends in 1417.

Winstead's aim appears to be to demonstrate from this handful of saints' lives that Capgrave, living in a time of political difficulty and ecclesiastical stringency, was an independent thinker who "did not care deeply whether York or Lancaster governed but cared that England be governed well; he was orthodox but not Arundelian; he sympathized with the aspirations and frustrations of women but did not favor radical social change" (p. 163). Such a view is an interesting one, but it is one that is not altogether easy to demonstrate

from the texts. Capgrave is very reticent, as Winstead admits; consequently, much of the case has to be made from silences or subtle allusions—omissions from source texts, minor modifications of wording, a rare comment that is entirely independent and hardly ever outspoken. The problem is compounded by the fact that there are difficulties about those source texts: the precise source has not been identified for the life of Katherine, and others are not always easy to access. But sometimes more generous quotation of those sources might help. The *Liber de illustribus Henriciis* is described (p. 159) as "a diabolically subversive text," a provocative comment that requires further evidence. Comparisons with other fifteenth-century orthodox writers could also be extended: orthodoxy, like heresy, came in various shades. All in all, the book opens a variety of questions. Capgrave may not become a widely popular author, but the details here can contribute to a wider picture of late-medieval outlooks.

Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford ANNE HUDSON

Early Modern European

Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und katholischer Reform, 1500–1700, Band 3. Edited by Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina Elisabeth Schwerdtfeger. [Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, Heft 67.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2007. Pp. 240. €22,80. ISBN 978-3-402-11085-0.)

This final volume of a well-conceived and skillfully executed overview of religious orders within German lands during the Reformation era covers the Praemonstratensians (men and women), Augustinian Canons, Augustinian Canonesses, Williamite Hermits, Celestines, Antonite Hospitalers, Conventual Franciscans, Observant Franciscans, and Capuchins. Sadly, an article on Dominican nuns failed to materialize (Dominican friars were covered in volume 2). Volume 1 was reviewed in *ante*, XCII (July 2006), 315–17, and volume 2 in XCIV (January 2008), 216–17.

The longest chapters are given over to the Franciscan Observants and Capuchins. The former represent the only order that came out of the Reformation period larger and more widespread than it was in 1500 (*c.* 163 houses in 1500, *c.* 132 in 1555, *c.* 201 in 1648, and *c.* 260 in 1700). The chapter on the Observants underscores the strength of their role in resisting the attacks on monasticism in the 1520s and resisting Protestantism in general (p. 188*ff.*), whereas many other orders saw wholesale defections. The Capuchins, founded in the 1520s and 1530s in Italy, also experienced remarkable growth in German-speaking regions from the later sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Strikingly, the Observant upswing especially gained momentum late in the Thirty Years' War as the Observants moved into areas retaken by the Catholic armies, most significantly in the Saxon province (pp. 200–01).

The editors' foreword looks back over the three volumes and draws a balance sheet: in 1500, approximately 2550 houses of men and women religious existed in the German regions. By the mid-1600s, *c.* 1350 houses remained, to which may be added ninety-three Protestant women's houses (*Damenstifte*). In other words, about 1200 houses were dissolved during the Reformation era (a few of these were victims of the Turkish advance in the East and other vicissitudes). The valuable maps, one after the other, illustrate graphically the primary source of the losses, as in map after map, white space replaces a landscape once dotted with monastic establishments in the heartland of the Protestant movement in the area from Saxony north to the Baltic and in the northern Netherlands, contrasting with the ongoing, thickly populated religious-order landscape along the Rhine Valley and in Westphalia and the more mixed picture in Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia, the Main River basin, and Switzerland. The "clean sweep" phenomenon is seen most clearly in the maps of the Cistercian nuns (vol. 1), the Augustinian Canons, and the Augustinian Canonesses (including Windesheim Congregation, vol. 3).

But the story told in these volumes does not deal merely with losses. Approximately 700–800 new foundations were made in the Catholic regions of the Empire from the mid-1500s to about 1700. Here the new orders (Ursulines, vol. 1; *Congregatio Jesu* or Mary Ward Sisters, vol. 2; Jesuits, vol. 2; Discalced Carmelites, vol. 2; Poor Clares, vol. 2; Capuchins, vol. 3) are most prominent but also appearing are Franciscan Observants (vol. 3), which had an "astonishing development" (p. 8). The Capuchins made so many new foundations that a separate map was required to chart them all.

Surprisingly, as the editors note, a survey of the valuable bibliographies appended to each chapter throughout the three volumes indicates that the relationship of the religious orders to the Council of Trent remains inadequately studied. Not every chapter follows the set roster of topics more characteristic of the earlier volumes, but nonetheless, most chapters contain some information about spirituality and educational levels alongside the external fortunes of the various orders. The very interesting Williamites were given space disproportionate to the order's minuscule size. Human interest tidbits abound, such as the early-seventeenth-century Praemonstratensian abbot who was a "theologian, mathematician, organ-builder, and technician" (p. 12). The book concludes with an alphabetical listing of the chapters of all three volumes and their authors.

Students of the Catholic and Protestant Reformations need to have this three-volume work available for reference, and a thorough reading of it will more than repay them for the time invested.

Loyola University Chicago DENNIS MARTIN

The Renaissance Pulpit: Art and Preaching in Tuscany, 1400–1550. By Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby. [Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 6] (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 2007. Pp. xviii, 294, $116.00; €80,00. ISBN 978-2-503-51342-3.)

With this volume, Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby sets out to right a wrong: to bring the art historical information on sculpted pulpits together with the literature about the sermons spoken from these pulpits and the preachers who gave them. The book focuses on the Quattrocento in Florence, but includes valuable discussions of the earlier tradition and of the sixteenth-century developments, both of which are more expansive geographically as well as chronologically. The author aims, to use her own words, "to explore the interrelationships between works of art and sermons, by analysing the manner in which the nature and content of religious preaching shaped the Renaissance pulpit."

Debby concentrates on a handful of pulpits produced by Florentine sculptors: Brunelleschi and Buggiano's pulpit for Santa Maria Novella, Benedetto da Maiano's for Santa Croce; Mino da Fiesole, Antonio Rossellino, and Pasquino da Montepulciano's interior pulpit at Santa Stefano in Prato; the exterior pulpit for the same church by Donatello and Michelozzo; and, finally, Donatello's two pulpits for San Lorenzo. These six pulpits have vastly different bibliographies, qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Needless to say, the most complex literature is linked to the pulpits by Donatello, especially the two for San Lorenzo. For each pulpit, Debby reviews much of the recent literature, but these summaries do not seem to expand or enhance the existing arguments. In the particular case of Benedetto da Maiano's pulpit, it is worth noting that Doris Carl's two-volume monograph *Benedetto da Maiano: A Florentine Sculptor at the Threshold of the High Renaissance* (Turnhout, 2006) is not cited, although it provides significant factual material applicable to Debby's argument. Overall, Carl's approach to the Santa Croce pulpit is far more balanced and thorough. The organizing principle of the book reflects the author's primary interest in the pulpits, with chapters on patronage, location, form, and content. More care, however, could have been taken with regard both to the facts and to citations to the secondary literature on sculpture. Debby's introductory remarks on methodology identify Charles Seymour's text *Sculpture in Italy, 1400–1500*, as published in 1996 (p. 8, fn. 14). Any survey of the development of scholarship that sees this book's contributions as coming thirty years after its actual date of publication must be edited more carefully. There is also a certain amount of overlap and repetition that might have been avoided with a different organization.

The parts of the book that deal directly with sermons and the pulpit's role in this activity are highly informative. The connections with preaching or preachers are addressed in different fashions, depending on the pulpit at issue. Sometimes the discussions of sermons relate to the iconography of the work, other times to the history of the church that houses the pulpit, or the family that commissioned it. Based on Debby's discussion, it will no longer be possi-

ble to see pulpits are merely mute church furniture. Even the style and composition of the reliefs, traditionally considered in formal terms only, now appears to have specific links with the goals and activities of preachers. Readers, forewarned to read more widely on the pulpits themselves, will find much that is interesting and useful in this book.

University of Georgia SHELLEY E. ZURAW

Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy. Edited by Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2007. Pp. xvi, 231. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65655-5.)

This is an important book. The Order of Hermits of St. Augustine (OESA) has been overshadowed by the Franciscan and Dominican Orders in the scholarship devoted to the religious, intellectual, and cultural history of the later Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation, with the exception of the relationship between the Augustinian friars and Martin Luther. Recent scholarship, however, has begun to address this gap, and Bourdua and Dunlop have made a significant contribution. As Dunlop notes in her introductory chapter, the OESA "has received little attention from art historians, and yet it has a unique import for any rethinking of art and religious institutions in the premodern period" (p. 2). Following in the wake of Joseph C. Schnaubelt and Frederick Van Fleteren's edited volume, *Augustine in Iconography: History and Legend* (New York, 1999), and Meredith Gill's *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo* (Cambridge, 2005), Bourdua and Dunlop's work proposes to focus on the OESA "to examine the 'mendicant thesis'" (p. 2), which argues that the mendicant orders effected "the first artistic shifts of the Renaissance" (p. 2). Simply by posing the question, the editors have given new prominence to the OESA, which the historical evidence so amply documents only to have been ignored in the historiography.

In addition to Dunlop's introductory chapter, the work consists of ten case studies, from the origins of the order's habit and Augustine's tomb in Pavia (1362) to the fifteenth-century portrayals of Augustine's vision of the Trinity and the artistic representations of the Augustinian St. Nicholas of Tolentino. The contributions are detailed and erudite, yet the reader is proverbially always left wanting more. There is no concluding chapter summing up the findings, and the reader does not possess a clear sense of the volume's contribution to the "mendicant thesis" as such, its stated goal, even if the individual chapters give ample evidence of the OESA's influence, perhaps most notably in Cathleen Hoeniger's chapter on "Simone Martini's Panel of the Blessed Agostino Novello: the Creation of a Local Saint" (pp. 51–78). Donal Cooper's chapter on Augustine's vision of the Trinity dates it to the 1360s and the Venetian artist Nicoletto Semitecolo, whereas earlier depictions of the motif can be found in

the Erfurt stained-glass cycle dated to 1324 and in Jordan of Quedlinburg's *Metrum pro depingenda vita Sancti Augustini* of 1341. It is also perhaps surprising that the works of Hans Belting are never cited, when the overall thrust of the volume is to analyze the "image and its public." Even though such "*Kleinigkeiten*" can easily be multiplied, Bourdua and Dunlop have contributed substantially to our understanding of OESA's impact in the Renaissance and consequently to our understanding of the reception, understanding, influence, and impact of Augustine in the fourteenth to the later fifteenth centuries. If "art imitates nature," Bourdua and Dunlop have provided precious insights into the nature of the late-medieval and Renaissance Augustine and his true sons, as Europe was ceasing to be "medieval" and becoming "early modern."

Indiana University–Purdue University, Indianapolis ERIC L. SAAK

Building the Kingdom: Giannozzo Manetti on the Material and Spiritual Edifice. By Christine Smith and Joseph F. O'Connor. [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 317; Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Vol. 20.] (Tempe: ACMRS [Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies], in collaboration with Brepols. 2007. Pp. xviii, 518. $69.00; €48,00. ISBN 978-0-866-98362-4)

As the authors point out in their preface, Pope Nicholas V (1447–55) was the first pope "to reside permanently at the Vatican rather than at Rome's cathedral, St. John Lateran." This book is a study of Nicholas V's grand building projects as explained by his biographer, the humanist Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459). The title, however, does not quite reveal what the book contains. To be complete, it should have included the names not only of Nicholas V, the central actor in the enterprise, but also of the great humanist architectural theoretician Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72), who, while seemingly always lurking in the background, puts in numerous overt appearances as the authors make him a counterpoint to Manetti's architectural language and Manetti's and Nicholas's vision and goals. (I cannot say how often the authors refer to Alberti because one of the defects of the book is its lack of an index.)

To be sure, Manetti predominates. The last third of the volume consists of an edition with English translation and extensive commentary of three of his works: *De Secularibus et Pontificalibus Pompis* (a description of Pope Eugenius IV's dedication of the cathedral of Florence on March 25, 1436), *Liber Secundus de Vita ac Gestis Nicolai Quinti* (book 2 of Manetti's *Life* of Pope Nicholas V, describing the pope's revolutionary building program in Rome), and an excerpt from Nicholas V's testament as found in book 3 of *De Vita ac Gestis* dealing with the building program. Furthermore, Manetti is the sole focus or an important element of the nine chapters that constitute the first 300 pages. In these chapters as well as in the translations and the commentaries, the authors make a major contribution to our understanding of Manetti's archi-

tectural vocabulary (e.g., demonstrating that Manetti used *solum* to mean a leveled platform for building). I also agree with their general analysis of Manetti's *Weltanschauung*, though I think they were I to apply to Manetti the self-serving comparison of Poggio Bracciolini and Lorenzo Valla of a modern Vallalatorist, Salvatore Camporeale (p. 14). Since Anna Modigliani's critical edition of Manetti's biography of Nicholas V came out in 2005, their Latin text was superseded even before it appeared. The largest defect of their edition is the failure to take into account MS Pal. Lat. 868 of the Vatican Library, probably corrected by Manetti himself. The damage, fortunately, is limited in that one of the Florentine manuscripts used (Plut. 66, 23 of the Biblioteca Laurenziana) is itself authoritative.

Smith and O'Connor are quite convincing in demonstrating that Nicholas V's overarching concern was security and that in his mind "[t]he Vatican Palace was not, in other words, a miniature city but the fortress of a tyrant" (p. 165). They are excellent as a corrective to the misinterpretations of Carroll William Westfall's "*In This Most Perfect Paradise*" (Baltimore, 1973). They also bring out well the biblical inspiration of many of the details of Nicholas's building campaign ("Nicholas's authority is King Solomon as architect/patron," p. 219) and in showing that "[t]he most fundamental decision Nicholas made was to establish the level of the crest of the Mons Saccorum [an eastern spur of the Vatican Hill] as the 'building platform' of the Vatican Palace" (p. 189). Their richly annotated chapter on Nicholas's library would seem at first blush to be a bit far afield, but it fits well within their analysis of Manetti and Nicholas, although their lack of expertise sometimes is evident, such as their assertion that Niccolò Perotti obtained codices in Trebizond (p. 92) or their supposition that Nicholas's commissioning of Latin translation was "a partial response" to Lorenzo Valla (pp. 95–96).

I am not competent to adjudicate Smith's and O'Connor's contrasting of Leon Battista Alberti's ideas with Manetti's, but I can say that I found stimulating and persuasive their argument that "Manetti's version of the building program argues for one side of a largely forgotten controversy. Alberti was the most vocal opponent of the building projects; his criticisms illuminate Manetti's defense" (p. 191). One must attend here not only to their narrative chapters (specifically, cChapter 7), but also to their section-by-section commentary on the *Vita* to follow the details of the argument.

All in all, this is a most valuable book, a little hard to use at times (that lack of an index again), but eminently useful on a range of important artistic, intellectual, historical, and religious issues.

University at Albany, State University of New York JOHN MONFASANI

Renaissance Inquisitors: Dominican Inquisitors and Inquisitorial Districts in Northern Italy, 1474–1527. By Michael Tavuzzi. [Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, Vol. 134.] (Boston: Brill. 2007. Pp. xiv, 286. $129.00. ISBN 978-9-004-16094-1.)

Inquisitions per se tend to garner less scholarly attention than the individuals and practices they investigated. Oppressed and subversive, heretics appeal more than their prosecutors. Moreover, work on inquisitions tends to focus more on general inquisitorial theories and systems than on the men who put them into practice. Michael Tavuzzi reacts against this tendency, focusing squarely on individual inquisitors in the northern Italian Dominican provinces of St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr, and in the observant (reformed) Congregation of Lombardy. He has identified ninety-four out of a likely one hundred inquisitors who operated here between 1474 and 1527. An appendix provides entries on these men (pp. 213–52), and several are treated at length in the body of the book.

Studying these men, Tavuzzi reveals that most enjoyed long tenures in office, and most were appointed fairly late in life, after extensive preparatory work. Thus, rather than zealous firebrands, inquisitors were more likely to be "sedate geriatrics" (p. 39). In addition, most performed a variety of duties, never focusing exclusively or even primarily on inquisitorial activity. The impression, then, is that inquisitions tended to be relatively sedate affairs, with inquisitors often appearing "indolent" or "unenthusiastic" about their tasks (p. 149). Observant Dominicans were typically more energetic than conventuals, but this does not dramatically change Tavuzzi's overall impression of inquisitorial activity. Aside from occasional "freethinking" intellectuals at universities and a few Waldensians in the Alps, heresy was not a major threat in Renaissance Italy.

Inquisitors were rather more active against witchcraft, but here Tavuzzi notes that they generally did not instigate witch trials, instead responding to local calls for the prosecution of perceived harmful magic. The crucial question, then, is why inquisitors became inclined to see satanic conspiracies in charges of simple sorcery. Many historians (myself included) have explored the notion of a stereotype of diabolical witchcraft developing among certain "elites," which was then imposed on more general ideas of harmful magic. Tavuzzi, however, notes that inquisitors generally did not develop an interest in witchcraft in the abstract, but only after experiencing directly or receiving firsthand reports of witch trials mainly in Alpine regions.

So what was going on in the Alps? Tavuzzi suggests there may really have been witches—not flying in great numbers to demonic sabbaths, but perhaps consisting of a "very loose, informal movement of people who shared common beliefs" (p. 205). These people may have performed sorcery with a subversive, anti-ecclesiastical edge. Noting the centrality of charges of Host-profanation in many witchcraft accusations, he surmises that the "sect of witches was fundamentally an anti-Eucharist conspiracy" (p. 207)—not an organized diabolical

cult, but a group of like-minded people reacting against the increased importance of the Eucharist in late-medieval piety. As corroborating evidence, he notes that accusations of Host-profanation against Jews also rose at this time (p. 207).

The contention here is not that inquisitors, regarding the Host as increasingly important, perceived increasing Host-profanation around them, but that certain people (witches and, it seems, Jews) were actually profaning the Host more often. This assertion begs an array of questions. What about witchcraft accusations in which Host-profanation does not figure prominently (there are some)? What about charges of magic or superstition that involved irreverent treatment of Hosts but never escalated into charges of witchcraft? Why would Host-profanation have been particularly severe in Alpine valleys, where the earliest witch trials occurred? Witchcraft is not the central focus of Tavuzzi's book, but it is where he makes his most spectacular claims. Although intriguing, they are far from convincing.

Iowa State University MICHAEL D. BAILEY

Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the della Rovere in Renaissance Italy. Edited by Ian F. Verstegen. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies Series, 77.] (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press. 2007. Pp. xxviii, 210. $54.95. ISBN 978-1-931-11260-4.)

This wide-ranging survey of the artistic patronage of members of the della Rovere family—including popes, cardinals, dukes of Urbino, and two women—covers the period from the pontificate of the pope who may be regarded as the founder of the dynasty, Sixtus IV (although he had no direct descendants), to the reign of the last della Rovere, duke of Urbino in the early-seventeenth century.

Andrew C. Blume stresses Sixtus's identification with the Church and the papacy, and not just his family, in relation to the iconography of the Vatican Sistine Chapel. Most of Jill Elizabeth Blondin's survey of the commissions of Sixtus for the Franciscan basilica and monastery at Assisi is concerned with a little-known, curiously old-fashioned statue of the pope placed on the buttress he had built to prop up the infirmary. Henry Dietrich Fernández examines the palaces of the bishop and the pope at Avignon that Julius II renovated while he was cardinal legate there, as well as the palace he had built in his home town in Savona, for architectural ideas that would be brought to the work on the Vatican Palace during his pontificate.

Other della Rovere cardinals as well as the two popes commissioned works for Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome: Lisa Passaglia Bauman argues they were co-opting the magnificence and glory of classical Rome to enhance the claims of their family to an exalted social and political position. Ian Verstegen contributes

an essay on the patronage of Cardinal Giulio della Rovere, the second son of Duke Francesco Maria I, arguing that his family name with its associations of nepotism was a liability in his efforts to be considered *papabile*. As Verstegen points out, however, Giulio owed his cardinalate to his brother Guidobaldo's marriage to the granddaughter (Verstegen calls her the niece) of Paul III, Vittoria Farnese, and his conversion from a worldly to a reform-minded cleric followed the marriage of his niece to Federico Borromeo, nephew of Pius IV.

Caroline Murphy argues that the purchase by Felice della Rovere, Julius II's daughter, of the coastal fortress of Palo strengthened her position within the Orsini family into which she had married and helped win the favor of Leo X, who used Palo as a hunting lodge. By contrast, Isabella della Rovere, daughter of Duke Guidobaldo II, was a major patron of the Jesuits: Maria Ann Conelli considers that the church furniture given by patronesses in the sixteenth century necessitates revision of notions of the austerity of the interior of early Jesuit churches.

In a second contribution, Verstegen writes of Francesco Maria I's interest in designing fortifications and his employment of the architect Girolamo Genga from Rome, while looking to Venice, particularly Titian, in his patronage of painting. Jeffrey Fontana also emphasizes the dukes' artistic links to Venice in his article on Guidobaldo II's interest in Titian; he argues Federico Barocci modeled himself on Titian to try to attract the duke's patronage. In the best essay in the collection, Stuart Lingo examines the unusual pattern of Francesco Maria II's patronage of Barocci, who produced gifts for other rulers that enhanced the image of the duchy.

For a volume focused on a dynasty, there are a disconcerting number of errors in information about members of the family and their relatives. Several contributors tend to confuse speculation with demonstration and to attribute motives and thoughts, without any documentary support, to the patrons they are discussing. Nevertheless, there is much of value and interest in this volume.

Cambridge University CHRISTINE M. SHAW

Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome: Benvenuto Olivieri and Paul III, 1534–1549. By Francesco Guidi Bruscoli. [Studies in Banking and Financial History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2007. Pp. xxviii, 313. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-60732-8.)

In the Renaissance papal banking was big business. Given tight money supplies, limited credit, and the papacy's constant need for funds, popes had regular recourse to private financiers to advance cash and credit, for which they pledged future ecclesiastical revenues and taxes from the Papal States and Rome to secure and reimburse their loans. By obligating future incomes, popes bound themselves inextricably to their financiers. In the fifteenth century the

Medici bank of Florence had made much of its fortune from financial dealings with the papacy. The Florentines, along with bankers from Siena and Genoa, joined together in financing the popes, using their impressive capital reserves and ability to access international financial markets. Banks used bills of exchange, which had an imbedded element of risk, to skirt prohibitions against usury and to float short-term loans. By the sixteenth century the papacy had, in effect, "outsourced" the administration of its finances and tax collections to private banking firms, which bid against but also cooperated with one another in managing the papal fisc. Beginning in 1513 with Leo X, the Medici, now popes and no longer active bankers, relied heavily on other Florentine bankers, notably Filippo Strozzi, to provide capital and management services. By 1529, when Benvenuto Olivieri, the subject of this study, became Strozzi's junior partner and a comanager of the Strozzi bank in Rome, he had already spent nearly fifteen years learning the intricacies of papal banking, starting as a clerk and employee of Bindo Altoviti, another Florentine financier and associate of Strozzi. Olivieri's active career until his death in 1549 thus spanned the waning years of Clement VII's papacy and that of Paul III Farnese.

The value of the present study (translated from the original Italian edition published in 2000) emerges from its detailed rendering of papal finances as viewed from inside the Olivieri company. The author puzzled through an extensive series of account books located in the Galli Tassi collection in the Archivio di Stato, Florence. Part 1 consists of a clear summary of papal banking practices and of Olivieri's rise to junior partner in Strozzi's bank and then as financial front for the capital investments of Strozzi's son Roberto. Finally in 1545, when Strozzi capital was withdrawn, Olivieri became senior partner in his own, much smaller operation. The meat of the book comes in part 2, which takes the reader chapter by chapter through the various types of ecclesiastical revenues, offices, and tax farms Olivieri managed for the Strozzi, including the Depository General and farms of direct and indirect taxes. The appendix of contracts and documents provides helpful illustrations. Unfortunately, the surviving accounts do not include complete balance sheets. Thus the attempt to estimate the returns and level of activity of Olivieri's company in 1543, at its height and before Strozzi capital was removed, remains inconclusive. As business history, the account-book view misses the human drama of contemporary events, the Sack of Rome, the troubled pontificate of Clement VII, and Paul III's nepotism and struggle to reform the Church in the face of a rising tide of Protestantism, all of which seriously affected papal finances. The banking records cannot give us a sense of Olivieri the man, although we know from other sources that he remained a loyal friend to Filippo Strozzi even after the latter's presumed suicide in prison following his failed attempt to unseat Duke Cosimo de' Medici in Florence. The author concludes that Olivieri's rise from modest circumstances to papal banker made him "one of many, and as such an exemplary case" (p. 213).

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill MELISSA MERIAM BULLARD

The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century. By Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin. Translated by Jackie Feldman. [Jewish Culture and Contexts.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 314. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24011-5.)

This is a study of Catholic Church censorship and expurgation of Hebrew literature in sixteenth-century Italy. It is the English translation of a book first published in Hebrew in Jerusalem in 2005, and it appears under the auspices of the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies of the University of Pennsylvania.

The book examines the burning of the Talmud in 1553, the development of Catholic ideas of censorship of Hebrew books as expressed in the various indexes of prohibited books, the Council of Trent, and debates in Roman congregations. Raz-Krakotzkin then discusses the structure of Hebrew book expurgation, pointing out that it involved Christians, Jewish converts to Christianity, and Jews working together in Hebrew printing establishments. He argues convincingly that a major goal of expurgation was to safeguard Hebrew books for Christian readers. The author has read very widely and well in the literature of sixteenth-century printing and Catholic censorship generally, and he avoids polemics. He sometimes gives the papacy and the Church the benefit of the doubt by noting additional, less objectionable explanations for some brutal anti-Jewish actions. Raz-Krakotzkin also points out that Hebrew printing involved both editing and censorship, with sometimes blurred lines between them. A key term was *zikkuk* (to refine) often found in the colophons of Hebrew books: it meant both correcting and censoring texts.

Chapter 5 is the most important. Raz-Krakotzkin lists and analyzes the principles of expurgation for Hebrew books based on a document probably drafted by a convert who became a censor. The goal was to prepare texts that could be used by Christians and Jews alike, a notion of a common heritage. Although the author does not emphasize it, those who have studied Catholic censorship will notice that the approach and some of the principles of Hebrew censorship were the same as the expurgation rules used to eliminate anti-Catholic words and ideas from books written by Protestants that were otherwise acceptable. Censorship's heaviest impact fell on Hebrew biblical commentary, as the expurgators eliminated or rewrote anti-Christian passages found in the biblical commentaries of such famous medieval scholars as Rashi and David Kimchi. On the other hand, expurgation of Hebrew books of codification (*halakha*), i.e., texts that explained and interpreted the laws that governed Jewish life, was light. The irony is that although the Talmud was not permitted, the books that contained the commandments and interpretations of the Talmud were. The effect, in the view of Raz-Krakotzkin, was to affirm Jewish autonomous life, that is, "explicit recognition of the Jews' right to maintain their separateness from Gentiles in the basic areas of life" (p. 161).

The book is based on a wealth of secondary literature on censorship and the examination of numerous copies of censored Hebrew books. One merit of

the book for readers (like this reviewer) who do not read Hebrew is to summarize a great deal of recent Hebrew scholarship on these issues. On the other hand, the author is enamored of Foucault, reception theory, and the notion of negotiation. Hence, like almost all scholarship written under this ideological sky this book has excess verbiage that wanders around the topic (especially in the long introduction and conclusion) plus repeated buzzwords. It exhibits a sometimes slippery chronology, and it substitutes the politically correct but chronologically vague "early modern" for the historical "Renaissance," thus leading to misleading expressions as "early modern Hebraism." It employs the first person singular and often omits the pagination of articles in collective volumes in the bibliography. The English reads smoothly, although a few Italian names have been mangled. Despite these faults, the central five chapters offer a balanced and quite intelligent examination of the expurgation of Hebrew books along with thoughtful suggestions about the consequences for Jewish life. The book is welcome.

University of Toronto (Emeritus) and Chapel Hill, NC PAUL F. GRENDLER

Ruling Peacefully: Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Patrician Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy. By Paul V. Murphy. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2007. Pp. xxi, 290. $79.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21478-8).

Those—like me—who have read and enjoyed Paul V. Murphy's essays in the *Sixteenth Century Journal*, in several edited volumes, and in this journal now have just what they hoped for: Murphy's thorough analysis covering the whole life of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (1505–63). He has made a first-class contribution to the history of sixteenth-century Italy.

In six chapters here, Murphy traces the background and career of Gonzaga, placing both fully in context. A handsome, powerful Renaissance patrician, Gonzaga was fluent in the humanist culture prized by his social class. After studies in Bologna, entry into the circle of Reginald Pole, plus further studies in Mantua and Venice, he became the episcopal administrator of Mantua in 1521 and cardinal at the age of 22. He built an enormous library of humanist works, including texts on theology, patristics, canon law, and apologetics, the latter in both Protestant and Catholic voices. Murphy described him as a lifelong learner, for in addition to this book collecting—and presumably, reading—the prelate regularly sought out tutors. Present at the beginnings of what Hubert Jedin and others called "Catholic Reform," Gonzaga worked inconsistently to actualize diocesan reform. One reality that spurred such inconsistency in him and in others like him was personal pursuit of thoroughly unreformed behavior. Since he amassed an awesome portfolio of benefices delivering some 35,000 ducats annually, Gonzaga's reacting badly to nepotism under Paul III was rather like the pot calling the kettle black. Still, his modest reform initiatives in Mantua between 1533 and 1561 gained the good will of

prelates such as Gasparo Contarini and Gian Pietro Carafa. Gonzaga focused his diocesan reform on monastic life and on the improvement of local clergy, and he turned out to be fully capable of showing both severity and pragmatism in handling the failings of his human charges. When considering Gonzaga's connection with the contemporary so-called *spirituali*, Murphy finds it difficult to pin his subject down. Gonzaga exhibited the theological and religious influence of the group, but not consistently. He disapproved open preaching of Protestant doctrine on grace, but he was slow to discipline those who did. It was in artistic commissions and in work as a regent—beginning in 1540 for Francesco, the seven-year-old son of Federico of Mantua—that Gonzaga's patrician credentials were most apparent. There, Murphy explains, he understood his role perfectly: to maintain the status of his family as a clan of great lords. In his final years, Gonzaga served with Girolamo Seripando as legate to the Council of Trent. Murphy challenges the view of Jedin, arguing that the legates were not the source of problems encountered in the last phase of the council, but skillful diplomats facing an impossible balancing act. For Murphy, here at Trent the patrician and the reformer came together. Gonzaga sought, for instance, a limit on papal authority over the Council without any reduction in divinely instituted papal power. He and Seripando tried, Murphy insists, to preserve conciliar confidence in papal commitment to comprehensive reform.

If all this sounds a little familiar, there is good reason. Intrepid scholars such as Giuseppe Alberigo, Eric Cochrane, Paul Grendler, and Adriano Prosperi began dramatic reconsideration of characters like Gonzaga long ago. Quite an edifice has been built upon their foundations by the rest of us fellow travelers, including Murphy. His work is another substantial brick in the wall. Prelates like Gonzaga worked amid competing commitments. The interrelationships they established were varied, multifaceted, and rather fluid. The positions they took and tactics they used were anything but uniform. Individual lives, groups of friends, political entities, and long-lasting institutions filled with contradictions defying customary historical models are the stuff of revision. A powerful, persuasive contribution to necessary revision lies here.

Bloomsburg University WILLIAM V. HUDON

Morandi's Last Prophecy and the End of Renaissance Politics. By Brendan Dooley. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 238. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-691-04864-2.)

In this engaging book, Brendan Dooley brings to life the revealing story of the abbot of the Roman monastery of Santa Prassede, Orazio Morandi. A bibliophile who began collecting books while a university student in Rome in the late-sixteenth century and continued the habit during two decades as a monk in Florence, Morandi had acquired 550 texts by the time he returned to Rome as abbot of Santa Prassede in 1613. With wide-ranging interests in theology,

ancient literature, and astrology, Morandi and the monastery library became the informal center—a salon of sorts—for a notable group of artists and intellectuals in the Rome of Paul V and Urban VIII. The famous, like Bernini and Galileo, came to borrow books from the library, as did well-heeled noblewomen such as Donna Anna Colonna, the wife of Urban VIII's nephew. The abbot and his library subsequently constituted an important, if little-known, corner of the vibrant intellectual world of early-seventeenth-century Rome.

Unfortunately for Morandi, his interests in prophecy and astrology went beyond academic interests, and when he was found to have predicted the death of Urban VIII in a chart he cast in 1630, he was arrested and jailed for what was considered a politically provocative and dangerous act and put on trial. He died in jail under mysterious circumstances a few months after his arrest. Poison, naturally, was suspected by contemporaries. With this rich and explosive brew of politics, prophecy, and the intellectual turmoil that marked Rome in the age of Urban VIII and Galileo, Dooley draws on the huge trial record of some 2800 folios as the primary archival foundation for his work. The resulting book is a compelling micro-history hybrid that sheds light on the interwoven worlds of astrology, papal politics, the world of the book, crime and punishment, and the intellectual habits of early modern Rome.

Dooley frames the central body of his text with two largely descriptive chapters on the imprisonment, trial, and interrogation of Morandi. The intervening sixteen chapters—all short, almost self-contained, essays—follow a rough chronology of Morandi's life from the time he was a student and young monk in Florence under the patronage of the Medici through his tenure as abbot of the monastery from 1613–30. Chapter 4, "The Astrologer's Books," presents one of the most important aspects of the work, since it provides a detailed picture of the library and its users, thanks to a catalogue and borrower's list preserved in the archives. This is a jewel for students of the book, reading habits, and the history of astrology and science. Similarly, chapters 9, 10, and 11, "The Harmony of the Universe," "Charting the Firmament," and "The Science of the Stars," are particularly valuable as they demonstrate with good detail how Morandi used his texts, cast charts, and read the heavens. Because of this kind of analysis with such excellent evidence, intellectual historians and especially historians of science and astrology will find this book of much use and importance as an addition to their growing field.

This is not necessarily the case for political historians of Rome, and it is curious that the title of the book gives such prominence to politics. In short, what the text adds to the political history of Rome under Urban VIII is far less compelling and original than the other material, and why and how this episode represents the end of Renaissance politics is far from clear. This criticism notwithstanding, the book nonetheless constitutes a valuable addition to our understanding of the intellectual worlds of early-seventeenth-century Rome.

University of California, Berkeley THOMAS DANDELET

Religionsstreitigkeiten: Volkssprachliche Kontroversen zwischen altgläubigen und evangelischen Theologen im 16. Jahrhundert. By Kai Bremer. [Frühe Neuzeit, Band 104.] (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005. Pp. x, 329. €88,00. ISBN 978-3-484-36604-6)

Historians of Reformation thought have long recognized the role that vernacular texts played in the dissemination of evangelical doctrines. Less widely acknowledged has been the contribution of vernacular writing to the Catholic response during the early decades of Protestantism. Because of the asymmetry of Protestant and Catholic constructions of lay and clerical status, close scrutiny of vernacular writings by Catholic controversialists has proven particularly revealing. Conventional views that vernacular polemics are dominated by scurrilous vituperation were supported by texts by Hieronymus Emser and Thomas Murner that became known through Luther's equally vociferous counterattacks. It is now recognized that these works by early Catholic polemicists are no more representative of the Romanist response than pamphlets by the Reformers are of their larger theological programs. In this monograph Kai Bremer elucidates the relation of Latin and vernacular writings by identifying some of the specific roles for which the native language was used.

Firmly grounded in the methods of Germanistic philology, Bremer rightly understands the importance of the choice of language. Identifying the genre of vernacular *Streitschrift* as a component of the Romanists' larger polemical strategy, Bremer offers precise criteria for determining this class of writing and relating it to broader categories of religious polemic. Bremer's attention to rhetorical analysis of polemical texts yields welcome results, notably his focus on the relation of persuasion to demonstration, or in his terms, conversion to conviction (p. 56). Using Georg Eder's 1580 example, in which the Golden Fleece is an image of the unity of Christianity from the apostolic era onward, Bremer argues cogently that appeals to the coherence and extension of Catholicism compose a distinct category apart from the denunciations and refutations usually associated with the *Streitschrift*. Moreover, this genre is one in which authors offer commentaries on texts in the harsher style. Bremer's intensive analysis allows him to locate, among these persuasive expositions, criticisms of the use of German for aggressive polemics. Hence we find intraconfessional differences over the use of German for disputes concerning the finer points of doctrine.

For historians of religious controversy, one great merit of Bremer's exposition is the contrast he draws between mild and harsh styles of argumentation, or, in his terms, between pastoral care and the battlefield (p. 129). As his exposition demonstrates, the irenicists and polemicists not only had their own styles but also some Catholic authors practiced both, an indication that they were aware of sympathetic and hostile factions among their intended readers. If, as Bremer suggests, highly charged, controversial positions occasionally

appeared in conciliatory guise, researchers in this specialty will have to use the categories *irenic* and *polemical* with far greater care than in the past.

The close scrutiny of selected texts comes at the unavoidable cost of not knowing exactly how typical or unique these examples are. To be sure, Catholic controversialists sought to present a unified front as a contrast to their depictions of a hopelessly fragmented Protestantism, but the internal friction exemplified by Eder's critique indicates a less harmonious movement than they wished to display. The surviving literature is vast and scattered through myriad libraries, and selectivity is necessary for such close literary analysis as Bremer offers. Thus we may hope that more studies of the same caliber will follow.

Originally a 2002 Göttingen dissertation and displaying the detailed thoroughness of the genre, Bremer's monograph covers an unusually broad spectrum of textual material and in so doing both clears new paths for further investigation and provides helpful new terms for interpreting Catholic controversial literature.

University of Iowa RALPH KEEN

God's Secret Agents: Queen Elizabeth's Forbidden Priests and the Hatching of the Gunpowder Plot. By Alice Hogge. (New York: HarperCollins. 2005. Pp. xiv, 445. $27.95. ISBN 978-0-060-54227-6.)

This account of the English mission undertaken by English priests to restore their country to the Catholic faith, following the accession of Queen Elizabeth I, makes for exciting reading. Alice Hogge is particularly effective in capturing the idealism, enthusiasm, and heroism of what she calls "Rome's army of arguers, burning with the force of their rhetoric and the certainty of their beliefs" (p. 395). Many were Oxford-educated young men who left their native land to receive a Catholic theological education abroad. Returning to England as ordained priests, they undertook to nurture the faith of those called recusants—from their refusal to accept the provisions of the Elizabethan ecclesiastical legislation. The English authorities viewed the priests as agents of a foreign power. In all too many cases, they were harassed, imprisoned, tortured, and executed by barbarous methods. Hogge skillfully describes the complexities and ambiguities of their mission, including the ironic situation where the priests, to carry out their pastoral work, had to act like the secret agents they were accused of being. Furthermore, they became dependent on lay Catholics who were, in at least a few cases, militantly opposed to the English government. This provides the link to the daringly apocalyptic Gunpowder Plot of 1605, aimed at destroying King James I and the royal family, the Privy Council, the leading judges, and the members of both houses of Parliament. If the plot had been successful, it would have created chaos throughout the

country. At least two Jesuit priests knew about the plot and failed to stop it, although they seem to have tried to dissuade the plotters.

Hogge shows that the plot instilled a long-lasting fear and suspicion of Roman Catholicism in many ordinary English men and women. The treatment of Father Henry Garnet revealed a vindictiveness and savagery in the king's officials that was very much at variance with the tolerant attitude toward Catholics that the king had expressed on his accession to the English throne a few years before. Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury and the king's leading minister, is depicted here as determined to destroy the Jesuit organization in England. But Hogge does not offer support for the theory that Cecil instigated the Gunpowder Plot to expose and ruin the Catholics. The plotters, Hogge suggests, feared the impending peace with Spain, since it would deprive them of assistance from abroad, and they seem to have acted out of a desperate ambition to topple the English Protestant government once and for all, an objective that the long war between Spain and England had failed to accomplish.

The author describes her work as "a popular history book" (p. 395), but it is based on a wide reading of sources, both primary and secondary, and she provides extensive footnotes. Unfortunately, her footnotes often come at the end of several sentences or even a paragraph, and they typically list several sources. Thus the sources of the quotations often are unclear. She apparently did not use the works of some important historians who are now investigating aspects of the history of early modern English Catholicism. These historians include Peter Marshall, Michael Questier, Ethan Shagan, Alison Shell, Alexandra Walsham, and Lucy Wooding; she also neglects some of the work of the late Francis Edwards, whose book on the Gunpowder Plot will soon be published. There are flaws in the book. Hogge refers to the widespread relief among English people that the Spanish armada had failed by the comment, "how lucky it was that God should be an Anglican" (p. 10). She also uses the term *Anglican* regularly to refer to the Elizabethan Church of England. The term is anachronistic and misleading, as she seems to admit in a note (p. 10). Adherents of the established Church referred to themselves as Protestants. She also uses the term *Puritan* in an anachronistic way, referring to a religious point of view in 1560 as Puritan when the word and the point of view had not yet appeared. Her description of the communion service in the 1559 Book of Common Prayer as "a careful amalgam of phrases from successive earlier prayer books" is careless and inaccurate (p. 35). Its contents were almost entirely from the more reformed of the two prayer books that had appeared, namely, that of 1552. Her phrase is only applicable to the words of administration of the consecrated elements in the Elizabethan prayer book, not to the whole communion service. Despite an excellent brief treatment of the establishment of the English College at Douai and its subsequent move to Reims, she neglects the secular or seminary priests who were a considerable part of the English mission, focusing instead on the Jesuit priests who were mainly educated at the English College at Rome.

Although a popular book, this is also a serious work of interpretation. Hogge shows in considerable detail the contribution of Nicholas Owen to the English mission as designer of many "hides"—places where priests were hidden from the government investigators or pursuivants who searched Catholic homes for Catholic priests and materials for celebrating Mass. She describes aptly the network of lay Catholics who protected the Catholic priests and sent them to safe houses across England. She exposes the government's harsh techniques, many of doubtful legality, to find and identify priests and politically activist Catholic laity and to attempt to extract information from them. Some of the most interesting pages of the book come at the end and deal with the somewhat parallel events of the early-twenty-first century. Terrorist political actions partly inspired by religion and harsh measures of doubtful legality undertaken to interrogate suspects are still very much a part of our world. Hogge forces readers to consider contemporary issues that they might prefer to ignore.

University of the South W. B. PATTERSON
Sewanee, Tennessee

From Cranmer to Sancroft: Essays on English Religion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By Patrick Collinson. (New York: Hambledon Continuum. 2006. Pp. xvi, 276. $72.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-852-85118-7; $24.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-852-85504-8.)

In Patrick Collinson's *From Cranmer to Sancroft*, two archbishops stand as the stern-faced alpha and omega for a collection of essays written by the preeminent historian of early modern religion in England. Those clerical bookends are apt, for Collinson is interested in trajectories—in beginnings and perhaps, in the case of English Christianity, ends. John Bossy once famously wrote of Elizabethan Catholicism that it was "a progress from inertia to inertia in three generations," and Collinson, in homage, states that Protestant dissent in early modern East Anglia "travels full circle from minority enthusiasm to minority enthusiasm in five or six generations" (p. 26); this volume, for its part, could be said to move from complex if weak archbishop to complex if weak archbishop, with a rich reserve of dissenters, separatists, and international Calvinists residing in between.

Collinson is interested in the metaphor of the cord, in this case as it applies to contradictory perceptions of the early modern English church as composed of one strand—the national and encompassing body of the faithful—woven in with a second strand, the "godly remnant or holy huddle" (pp. 26, 172). These threads nevertheless held together for a time, as dissent was also conjoined with the conservative church, particularly in regions such as Suffolk, where "the paradigmatic alliance of godly magistracy and ministry . . . gave the cord the strength to take the strain" (pp. 36, 40). The fraying and breaking of that cord, however, would occur when separatists, for example, "pull[ed] out of the

cord one of its two strands" (p. 28), with many of them acting on their decision by emigrating to New England; the events of the 1640s and 1650s, of course, also unloosened the rope, even if continuities remained between late-seventeenth-century dissenters and elements of the grassroots Puritanism that existed before.

The much-debated group known as the Puritans is further explored in most of the book's essays, particularly in Collinson's assertion that the movement did not represent an opposition to the Elizabethan and Jacobean settlements but the most "vigorous" strain within it. Still, Puritans evade easy categorizations—assured, despairing, hypocritical, Calvinist, non-Calvinist, conservative, radical; indeed, "[the] coherence of our concept of Puritanism depends upon knowing as little about particular Puritans as possible" (p. 105). In their acute predicament of entanglement in the cord—between belief in the godly minority and the larger English church from which they did not wish to separate—Puritans, for Collinson, chose integration "rather than sectarian disintegration," as outward conformity was balanced with attendance of semi-separatist conventicles, despite increasing pessimism about the larger church (p. 135). By the late-seventeenth century, and in the wake of the mid-century upheavals, the church had "contracted to the limits of the conventicle" alone (p. 168); as Collinson puts it, if the Puritan mainstream had once been "a great glacier advancing to engulf the whole landscape," it then "surpris[ed] itself by disintegrating and calving icebergs into a chilly sea" (p. 168).

Although Collinson emphasizes contingency and circumstance behind religious developments, *From Cranmer to Sancroft* describes a series of failures that take on the inevitability of a larger tragic drama based on characters (or in this case groups) that aspired to "impossible dreams" (p. 81). Archbishops Thomas Cranmer and William Sancroft, who are analyzed in separate essays, are appropriate embodiments of the book's tone of ultimate decline. Although Cranmer's theological inconsistencies and recantations are explained with incisiveness and sympathy, the archbishop nevertheless left behind a legacy of ambivalence and division. Sancroft, for all his humanism and tenacity in holding office, also acted unheroically and sealed his fate in the aftermath of James's deposition in 1688; in refusing the loyalty oath to William III, Sancroft chose not to stay within the system, for example, to accommodate moderate dissenters and others—which "had profound consequences not only for the Church of England but for English Christianity more generally" (p. 192). Thus do these essays, perhaps unwittingly, convey faith, in Matthew Arnold's words, as a "melancholy, long, withdrawing roar" from England, although explained more historically and less roaringly; the tensions inherent within one church could not help but eventually break it apart and fray the cord, leading in part to the English "post-Christian" (or rather, in England, post-Anglican) world of today.

Queens College, City University of New York SARAH COVINGTON

Mother Leakey and the Bishop: A Ghost Story. By Peter Marshall. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp.xxvi, 323. $25.00. ISBN 978-0-199-27371-3.)

In October 1634 the matriarch of a once-prosperous Somerset merchant family died. Yet the death of Susan Leakey did not mark the end of her story. Less than two months later her daughter-in-law Elizabeth claimed that Susan again began to make her presence felt in the family's home: first through unexplained noises, and then in March 1636, by appearing in physical form. Ultimately these fleeting visions culminated in an exchange in November of that year in which the ghost of Susan Leakey gave Elizabeth a set of instructions. These included a confidential message for Susan's daughter, Joan Atherton, the wife of the Crown's newly appointed bishop of Waterford and Lismore in Ireland. A victim of his politics as much as his passions, John Atherton was soon at the center of his own storm of controversy: in 1640 he was convicted and hanged for sodomy. But before the bishop's unfortunate demise, Peter Marshall suggests that perhaps this spectral communication caused some at the court of Charles I to suspect a more sinister political game afoot.

As in the case of his mother-in law, the story of the execution of Bishop Atherton also took on a life of its own after his death. Up to the present, the stories of Mother Leakey and Bishop Atherton continue to appear in various forms, oftentimes with new meanings attached as the narratives have been refashioned to fit changing political and cultural contexts. It is the great staying power of these two intertwined stories of sex and spirits in the early-seventeenth century that attracted Marshall's attention. These stories provided him with an an opportunity to explore among other questions: the nature of Hiberno-English political relations on the eve of the English Civil War; "how the 'British dimension' might influence our understanding, both of political culture as a whole, and of individual life experiences" (p. ix); and the impact of the supernatural on political events at the time during which society's perception of the nature of the universe was radically changing. Furthermore, because these stories have been frequently retold and republished during the course of the last four centuries, Marshall contends that they offer "a rare insight into the process of historical memory as a dynamic entity . . . how oral tradition and written history are created and recreated over time" (p. x).

Marshall's analysis of the surviving material convinced him that it was possible to tell these stories in "a fresh and exciting way" (p. x). In a frank and welcome acknowledgment Marshall recognized that his narrative was itself a creative act: it was "his story" of the story of Mother Leakey and the bishop. Even scrupulously taking accounts of the facts, nevertheless, "usually leaves a huge degree of artistic latitude in the historian's hands" (p. xi). This recognition drives the presentation of the material. Organized into eight chapters along with a prologue, a "cast of characters," interlude, and epilogue, the book has the

feel of a work of fiction. In another unexpected departure from the standard academic approach Marshall incorporates into the text the story of his own research into the Leakey and Atherton affairs. In these sections he unveils the thoughts of a historian—along with the trials and tribulations of archival research—as he plies his craft. I found these sections to be the most fascinating parts of the text.

While the book is well written and engaging, there are a few minor issues that give pause for consideration. It is unclear whom Marshall intends as the book's primary audience. Will its popular literary style appeal to an academic readership? Conversely, will the level of detail and complex presentation of information appeal to the majority of readers of popular history? Also the final chapter falls flat. In a mere twenty-seven pages Marshall surveys the appearances of the stories of Mother Leakey and the bishop over roughly the last three hundred years. The result is that this chapter seems a bit too compressed and does not do justice to Marshall's intriguing study of these events and his innovative presentation of the material. These concerns aside, *Mother Leakey and the Bishop: A Ghost Story* is a spirited work that in a disarming fashion raises serious questions about the challenges faced by the present-day writers of narrative history.

The Ohio State University JAMES A. LENAGHAN

Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister. By Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt. [Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate. 2005. Pp. x, 241. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65023-2.)

In her engaging study, Elizabeth Lehfeldt has systematically argued for the permeability of the early modern cloister. Even as she carefully charts change over time—in patronage, monastic rules, and the regulation of claustration—she persuasively demonstrates the persistence of interactions between cloistered nuns and the world outside the convent walls. She locates convents—and the cloistered nuns who inhabited them—in the fabric of civic life.

Charting medieval networks of patronage and models of reform, she provides a framework to assess change over time. Her study encompasses not only widely recognized periods of reform—those spurred by Ferdinand and Isabella and by the Council of Trent—but also the complicated political and religious landscape of the earlier fifteenth century. Thus, she remedies the frequent tendency to break such studies into excessively tidy categories. Moreover, she examines nuns as simultaneous actors in religious, political, civic, and economic spheres.

Still, Lehfeldt reassesses the lives of women religious with systematic organization and clear prose. Her chapter titles—among them "Habits of Reform: Religious Women before Trent"—are evidence of such careful structure. Not

just employing a nice turn of phrase, she plays on the multiple valences of that language throughout the chapter. As she explores fifteenth-century templates for reform, she also treats the importance of monastic attire. Her analysis of one religious community's decisions about reform indicates her ability to connect such material to a wider assessment of monastic reform: "Their habits were a source of identity and gave them flexibility in choosing their direction in an era of tumultuous monastic reform" (p. 153).

In such fashion, her six chapters cohere internally and build upon each other, both thematically and chronologically. She analyzes convent patronage, economic management, litigation of numerous kinds, and religious reform, focusing on the mid-fifteenth through the mid-seventeenth centuries. She examines both the spiritual bounds of the convent and its physical spaces. Through numerous lenses, she argues for the permeability of the cloister, even in an era in which much religious reform centered on the cloistering of female religious communities: she carefully demonstrates that the business of life occurred inside the cloister and not simply around it.

She employs a wide array of sources, even as she centers her study on the important city of Valladolid, treating a range of religious communities in that city. She approaches her material with sophistication, attending to the constraints of rhetoric and form. She analyzes the writings of a host of reformers: male authorities and women who gained reputations for holiness among their contemporaries. She attends not only to print and the language of prescriptive treatises but also to deeds, lawsuits, and other records of economic activities that allow her to approach the "lived experience" of these religious women. She charts their negotiations of identities and regulations, their resistance to authorities, and their exercise of spiritual authority. Above all, she gives a palpable sense of the importance of convents to early modern communities.

Lehfeldt distills these arguments in her closing lines: " And just as they did in the late medieval and early modern eras, their lives continue to customarily and necessarily intersect with the temporal world, rendering the cloister quite permeable" (p. 220). Thus, she contends that any assessment of these religious women must be approached with broad chronological range and deep rooting in their economic, social, and cultural contexts. She consistently implies a dynamism in the relationship between civic order and religious foundation. Inherent in Lehfeldt's notion of permeability is an emphasis on living, vibrancy, and the potential for action even within the cloistered life.

Western Washington University KIMBERLY LYNN HOSSAIN

Late Modern European

Between Cross and Class. Comparative Histories of Christian Labour in Europe 1840–2000. Edited by Lex Heerma van Voss, Patrick Pasture, and Jan De Maeyer. [International and Comparative Social History, Vol. 8.] (New York: Peter Lang. 2005. Pp. 399. $100.95. ISBN 978-0-820-46274-5.)

Written by a distinguished team of European and North American collaborators, this collection aims to provide the first transnational account of the development of Catholic labor organizations in Europe from the nineteenth century onward. In doing so, its editors are intent upon remedying what they perceive to be the neglect and condescension with which historians, and more especially labor historians, have viewed Christian trade unionism. Like many such justifications, this starting point is perhaps a little superannuated. Quite who this monstrous regiment of secular-minded historians might be is never stated, and whether there is really anybody who still believes that Christian labor organizations were the manifestations of a false consciousness imposed by priests and factory owners on workers who lacked the means to perceive their true (Socialist) class interest seems a rather dubious assumption. No matter: in the case of this volume, it leads to the much more substantial and interesting problem of mapping and interpreting why Christian labor organizations developed so strongly across large areas of western and central Europe from the final decades of the nineteenth century to roughly the 1960s. Some may turn to this volume for its information about less familiar areas of Christian trade unionism, notably the necessarily tentative contribution by Irina Novichenko on Russia and its western neighbors and the substantial and highly informative article by Pieter van Duin and Zuzana Poláckova on the bitter conflicts between Catholic and Socialist trade unions in Austria and Czechoslovakia in the years immediately following World War I. Its principal value, however, lies in the way its more synthetic essays, especially those by Patrick Pasture, William Patch, Paul Misner, and Carl Strikwerda provide much material for reflection on the origins, development, and subsequent transformations of Christian labor organizations.

In the beginning, as Pasture emphasizes in his substantial introduction, there was the Catholic Church: it was the resolve with which the papacy and national ecclesiastical hierarchies set about creating "milieu associations" for industrial workers and thereby saving them from the twin evils of secularization and socialism, which provided the essential impetus for the Catholic social organizations, youth leagues, and trade unions that spread over the territories of the Low Countries, northern France, and western Germany in the latter nineteenth century. The fertile soil they found also owed much, as Strikwerda rightly underscores, to the attitudes of the Socialist unions. By adopting a militant anticlericalism, Socialist unions in countries such as Belgium and Austria alienated those workers for whom abandonment of their religious identities or the opprobrium they would receive from their peers

was too high a price to pay for membership in a trade union. Conversely where, as in Great Britain, trade unions did not adopt an anticlerical secularism, Christian trade unionism could, as Hugh McLeod shows in his essay, remain within the broader church of mainstream trade unionism. However, the development of Christian and more especially Catholic labor organizations owed much to the organizational efforts of the committed cadre of priests and lay activists who by the early decades of the twentieth century emerged as the leaders of the various working-class organizations. Christian trade unions, as Misner points out, never stood alone: they were merely one component of a much broader range of spiritual and social associations that provided the milieu within which the trade unions developed.

Whether the workers themselves played much part in creating the organizations that claimed to speak in their name is less clear. An overly theoretical essay by Jan De Maeyer on working-class Catholic culture is the one substantial disappointment in the volume; and, as Strikwerda suggests, it would be wrong to draw too straight a line between religious practice and membership in Christian labor organizations. Christian (and secular) workers behaved pragmatically for the most part, joining those organizations, be they Christian or secular, which seemed best able to protect their interests. It is this pragmatism that provides perhaps the most interesting means of analyzing their subsequent development. Christian labor organizations were most successful when and where they could act as effective agents for the defense of the interests of their members. Thus, the strong development of Christian trade unionism in Germany and the Low Countries, and its more patchy growth in Italy and France, owed less to patterns of religious belief, or indeed clerical patronage, than it did to the way in which these organizations adapted to the reality of the industrial landscape. The model of Christian trade unionism that had developed in much of Europe by the middle of the twentieth century was on the whole a successful one: although originally focused on a number of key industries, notably coal mining and textiles, they proved able to reach out to new sectors of workers, notably those in public sectors (such as the ubiquitous railroad workers), white-collar employees, women, and the young. Moreover, their pragmatic ethos and cross-class composition made them better equipped than their Socialist and Communist rivals to combine timely strike action with participation in those forms of corporatist negotiation with employers and the state that appeared to offer the prospect of concrete rewards. Thus, as Patch demonstrates, Christian trade unions were far from immune to the corporatist temptations of the 1930s in Austria or even more briefly Nazi Germany; but in the democratic systems of the Weimar Republic, the French Third Republic, or the democracies of post-1945 Western Europe, they were also effective lobbyists, ensuring that their interests were well represented within the Catholic and Christian Democrat parties of the era.

This pragmatic attitude also helps to explain the evolution of Christian labor organizations over recent decades. As Misner rightly emphasizes, the

fusions of specifically confessional organizations within larger secular trade-union federations that have occurred in many western European states at different points since 1945 owed much to the fundamental shift away from hierarchical structures of control within European Catholic ranks that took place both before and after the Second Vatican Council. But they can also be seen as a further stage in the development of the Christian model of trade unionism, which recognized the advantages that they could derive from working with their erstwhile Socialist rivals. In doing so, they might have abandoned their specifically Christian identity; but, as Strikwerda points out in his concluding essay, they also converted their Socialist colleagues to their model of flexible and pragmatic labor organization.

Balliol College, Oxford MARTIN CONWAY

The Story of Father Marie-Joseph Lagrange: Founder of Modern Catholic Biblical Study. By Bernard Montagnes, O.P. Translation and Foreword by Benedict Viviano, O.P. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 214. $22.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-809-14333-7.)

The story of Père Lagrange (1855–1938) is a chronicle in cameo of the birth pangs of modern Catholic biblical scholarship. *Divino Afflante Spiritu* and *Dei Verbum* have provided the ecclesiastical freedom and encouragement that contemporary Catholic biblical scholars enjoy. Marie-Joseph Lagrange suffered the travail and restriction that preceded recognition of Catholic biblical scholarship as a legitimate enterprise.

Lagrange's espousal of the historical-critical method, whose primacy in biblical studies is acknowledged in the Pontifical Biblical Commission's *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church* (Vatican City, 1993), was frowned upon and often rejected by Roman authorities who failed to appreciate what he was doing and why he was doing it. Caution and sometimes brakes were applied to his work by his religious superiors who feared for the reputation and standing of the Order of Preachers. Supported by the friendship of some members of the Company of Jesus, he fell victim to the vitriol and plots of men such as Belgian Jesuit Alfonse Delattre and German Jesuit Leopold Fonck.

Notwithstanding this opposition and the climate of suspicion created by the "modernist" crisis, Lagrange's legacy to biblical scholarship is enormous. His publications number almost 2000. He founded the Biblical School in Jerusalem; the École biblique; the *Revue biblique*; and the Études bibliques, a scholarly series of biblical commentaries and monographs. No small part of his legacy is the work of his students such as Félix-Marie Abel, François-Marie Braun, Paul Dhorme, Eugène Tisserant, and Hughes Vincent, who have left their own mark on the history of biblical scholarship. What remains regrettable is that Lagrange's most cherished work, a commentary on the Book of Genesis, has not yet been published, so powerful has been the censorship imposed upon it.

Bernard Montagnes is a Dominican from Lagrange's home province of Toulouse. Prior to writing this book, he had published forty essays on Lagrange. What distinguishes this work from previous biographies of Père Lagrange is the author's abundant use of archival material and Lagrange's correspondence. What emerges is a portrait of Lagrange that almost seems to come from the man himself.

The reader experiences the trauma of opposition and misunderstanding that Lagrange suffered. In Lagrange, there was a passion for the truth with a conviction that the historical-critical method is necessary to the attainment of that truth. His love for the Church, espousal of the Dominican way of life and fidelity to Thomas Aquinas, and loyalty to the Holy See provided constraints sometimes as powerful as those imposed from outside. In Lagrange, there was a lifelong and deep-seated desire to allow the Word of God to be understood and appreciated by the people in the world in which we life.The memory and challenge of his passion and desire may well be Lagrange's most important legacy.

Brown University RAYMOND F. COLLINS

The Sacred Monster of Thomism: An Introduction to the Life and Legacy of Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P. By Richard Peddicord, O.P. (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 250. $25.00. ISBN 978-1-587-31752-1.)

After studies at Bordeaux, Flavigny, and Paris and after teaching philosophy and dogmatic theology for four years at Le Saulchoir, his order's school of theology, the French Dominican theologian Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange (1877–1964) taught dogmatic and spiritual theology at the Angelicum in Rome from 1909 to 1959. Garrigou-Lagrange, strongly impressed by his teacher Ambroise Gardeil, O.P., was a strident proponent of a strict neo-Thomist theology, a prolific author of neo-Scholastic textbooks on dogmatic and spiritual theology, and an influential consultant to the Holy Office. He was a prominent early opponent of the *nouvelle théologie* (*cf.* "La nouvelle théologie: où va-t-elle?," *Angelicum* 23 [1946] 126–45) propounded in the mid-twentieth century by such theologians as Yves Congar, O.P., and Henri de Lubac, S.J., and he influenced the strong criticism of this thought in Pope Pius XII's important encyclical *Humani Generis* (1950). Garrigou-Lagrange also directed numerous doctoral dissertations, including those of M.-D. Chenu, O.P., and Karol Wotjyła. Hostile to the anticlerical Third Republic and absent from France during most of World War II, he supported Marshal Petain's Vichy government and is reported by Jacques Maritain to have admonished Maritain, at one time a personal friend, that his support of General Charles de Gaulle's Resistance during the war was a mortal sin. Due to advanced age and declining health, Garrigou-Lagrange participated little in the preparatory work for the Second Vatican Council and not at all at the Council itself.

In *The Sacred Monster of Thomism* (a title derived from a remark of François Mauriac), Richard Peddicord, O.P., currently president of the Aquinas Institute of Theology in St. Louis, provides the first book-length treatment of a once influential *confrère* whose extensive writings have been neglected in recent decades. From a perspective almost invariably sympathetic to Garrigou-Lagrange's theology and spirituality, although not to his political judgments, Peddicord outlines Garrigou-Lagrange's life and recounts his controversies with such adversaries as Henri Bergson, Maurice Blondel, Chenu, and Maritain. Apart from compact accounts of Garrigou-Lagrange's conception of revelation and the nature of theology, Peddicord devotes surprisingly little space to presentation and analysis of Garrigou-Lagrange's extensive theological publications and even less to clear and objective accounts, based on the primary sources, of the positions Garrigou-Lagrange opposed; even the influential attack on the *nouvelle théologie* is examined only cursorily. The occasional polemical critiques of such contemporary American authors as Roger Haight, Monika Hellwig, and Elizabeth Johnson are out of place. Nonetheless, although not all will agree with the positions defended by Garrigou-Lagrange and Peddicord, the historical information included in this volume will be of interest even to readers who do not share Peddicord's optimistic assessment of the value of his fellow Dominican's contribution to the future development of Catholic theology.

Some corrections on details: Nazi Germany annexed only part of Czechoslovakia in 1938 (p. 96). On p. 139, n. 13, in the citation from Garrigou-Lagrange, read "la véritable doctrine thomiste" for "la extrêmes doctrine Thomiste." Spot checks of the index indicate that all page references to Patrick Granfield, Adolf Hitler, Joseph Komonchak, Karl Rahner, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Paul Tillich, and Herbert Vorgrimler are inaccurate.

The Catholic University of America JOHN P. GALVIN

Un pionnier, dom Lambert Beauduin (1873–1960): Liturgie et Unité des chrétiens. By Raymond Loonbeek and Jacques Mortiau. 2 volumes. [Université Catholique de Louvain: Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 7 Série, Fascicules 12-13] (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme et Éditions de Chevetogne. 2001. Pp. xxx, 916; iv, 917–1612. €47.10 paperback.)

Dom Lambert Beauduin is recognized both as a liturgical reformer and an ecumenist. Since his death in 1960, biographies have been written by L. Bouyer, O. Rousseau, R. Aubert, M. Cappuyns, and A. Haquin. But these two volumes represent the exhaustive efforts of two priest-professors, Raymond Loonbeek and Jacques Mortiau, of the diocese of Malines-Brussels to document the life of this great pioneer, through his writings; extensive interviews with his contemporaries; research in archives such as the archdiocese of Malines, the *Pro Russia* Commission, and the Congregation for Oriental Churches in Rome; and his papers, which include the rich years when he gave spiritual retreats and taught

university-level courses at San Anselmo in Rome and the Institut Supérieur de Liturgie in Paris. Beauduin was a prolific writer of some two hundred journal articles and several thousand letters. One drawback, however, is the absence of papers from the monastery of Mont César in Louvain, where Dom Beauduin began his monastic life; Dom Bernard Capelle ordered the papers' destruction. The work is made up of ten sections in two thick volumes, which include more than 1500 pages of text and an extensive list of sources.

Beauduin began his religious life as a seminarian at Liège (1893–97), years marked by Pope Leo XIII's social encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891). Drawn to the Société des Aumôniers du Travail, he was ordained to the diocesan clergy but the monastic life appealed to him. In 1906, he took up residence as a Benedictine monk at Mont César and prepared to teach dogmatic theology (ecclesiology). It was here that he dreamed about a renewed liturgy both in parishes and monasteries that would renew the Church. In 1909, he attended the general chapter of the Benedictines in Beuron that would lead him to the Congress of Catholic Works in Malines, which he declared was the official beginning for his work in liturgical reform and ecumenism. But it was during Beauduin's years in Rome (1921–25) while preparing his lectures on ecclesiology that he became acutely aware of the problem of Christian unity through his contacts with Anglicanism and the Christian East. These years nourished his ecumenical outlook that led to the foundation of the Monastery of Unity in 1925 (later transferred to Chevetogne). Wanting the monastery to be free from proselytism, dependence on charitable giving, and ideological imperialism, Beauduin established a new approach toward separated Christians that was founded on respect and love rather than one based on the desire to proselytize. It consisted in listening to an individual to know and understand him or her but still remaining true to one's own convictions. But Beauduin's refusal to proselytize doomed him to exile in a monastery in the south of France (En Calcat) where he remained until 1951. He returned to his home monastery at the age of seventy-eight. Yet the years in exile, intended to silence this charismatic visionary, only established his credentials as a great figure in ecumenical circles as well as liturgical studies. This two-volume work is highly recommended for the serious historian.

University of Notre Dame MICHAEL S. DRISCOLL

A Gentle Jesuit: The Life of Philip Caraman, S.J., 1911–1998. By June Rockett. (Leominster, UK: Gracewing Ltd. 2004. Pp. xii, 356. £20.00. ISBN 978-0-852-44593-8.)

To someone who knows Philip Caraman primarily as the historian who brought to life the exploits of Elizabethan Jesuits, or as the chronicler of the travels and travails of Jesuit missionaries in exotic lands, the supposition that a biography of Caraman himself would provide as compelling a story line might seem far-fetched. But it is nevertheless true, and June Rockett, who is an astute

observer of modern ecclesiastical history, has distilled much archival material into a lively account of a man who was at the center of the Catholic literary revival in its later stages and who was a high-profile casualty of the turbulent times that brought that revival to its end.

Caraman was of Catholic Armenian heritage, but impeccably British. Educated at Stonyhurst, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1930 and was eventually chosen to pursue historical studies at Oxford at Campion Hall during the tenure of Martin D'Arcy, who was to become his mentor and friend until D'Arcy's death in 1976. Soon after D'Arcy's elevation to the post of provincial, he appointed the recently ordained Caraman to the editorship of *The Month*, the prestigious journal that had once been the vehicle for Herbert Thurston, but had lost much of its panache by the 1940s. Caraman enlivened its pages with contributions by Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene, Robert Speaight, Thomas Merton, and other prominent writers. More than once, articles by Waugh and Greene in particular brought controversy to Caraman's door, but he was earning plaudits for his groundbreaking translations and annotations of the hitherto overlooked memoirs of the Elizabethan Jesuit priests John Gerard (1951) and William Weston (1955). These were followed in 1957 by a biography of another English Jesuit, Henry Morse; a compilation of source materials that appeared in 1960 as *The Other Face: Catholic Life Under Elizabeth I*; and a biography, commissioned by the Ursulines, of St. Angela Merici in 1963. At the same time he was serving as vice postulator of the cause for the canonization of forty English martyrs, maintaining his editorial duties, editing three volumes of sermons by Ronald Knox, and cultivating high-profile converts such as Dame Edith Sitwell and Alec Guinness, while continuing to socialize with the Waughs and Herberts.

By then, however, the Jesuit administration had changed. The shift in personnel and priorities has already been covered in the excellent 1997 biography of D'Arcy by H. J. A. Sire. Caraman was summarily fired as editor of *The Month* in 1963 and banished from the Farm Street "writers' house," ostensibly for excessive favoritism shown toward Evelyn Waugh's daughter, Margaret FitzHerbert, a staffer working on the martyrs' cause. (It is interesting to note that Martin Stannard, in his multivolume study of Evelyn Waugh published in the early 1990s, adopted the perspective of Caraman's detractors in this episode without critical examination, to the annoyance of the octogenarian priest who could have offered a different perspective on the jealousies and infighting that permeated the office and the Society at the time.)

The demotion, however, did not prevent Caraman from completing his most lasting contribution to recusant history, his definitive biography *Henry Garnet and the Gunpowder Plot, 1551–1606.* His friendship with a Norwegian Cistercian, John Willem Gran, led to his move to Norway after Gran was appointed bishop of Oslo in the mid-1960s. Here Caraman finished his relatively short biographical study of C. C. Martindale, the brilliant convert and prolific writer who had died in 1963.

With Norway as his base and freed from the strictures of the Farm Street overseers, Caraman could satisfy his desire to explore the remoter regions of the globe as background for his histories of Jesuit missionaries. He visited Ethiopia in 1967 and the hinterlands of Paraguay in 1971. The latter visit informs his highly successful book *The Lost Paradise* (1975), and the former contributed to *The Lost Empire: The Story of the Jesuits in Ethiopia, 1555–1634*, which was published in 1985. In Norway he also assumed for the first time the duties of a parish priest for small flocks in several posts.

In 1982, he returned to England and became parish priest at Dulverton, near the homes of the newer generation of Waughs and Herberts, but also ministering to parishioners unaware of his past connections to the literary set. It is a testament to his rigorous Jesuit training and self-discipline that he remained active as a pastor until his mid-eighties. A final historical work, *Tibet: The Jesuit Century*, was published in 1998, the year of his death, and for once was based solely on sources from the archives in Rome rather than on first-hand reconnaissance. Although it did not receive great reviews, the book is undeniably fascinating and an overdue corrective of the jingoistic view that the explorer and religious enthusiast Sir Francis Younghusband was the first notable westerner to penetrate the remote lands north of India.

Rockett has depicted Caraman as what Waugh once called him—"a dear gentle Jesuit"—as well as an inveterate traveler, an indefatigable student of Jesuit history, and an unassuming and constant friend to many people. The several minor typographical errors do not detract from this most welcome addition to the historiography of English Catholicism in the twentieth century.

Hofstra University DAVID ROONEY

Kirchen im Krieg. Europa 1939–1945. Edited by Karl-Joseph Hummel and Christoph Kösters. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2007. Pp. 614. €48,00. ISBN 978-3-506-75688-6.)

These collected essays, edited by two notable German Catholic scholars, are the product of a 2004 conference and complement the 2005 volume *Kirchliches Leben im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, edited by two Protestant scholars. While the latter's compass is restricted to Germany, the book under review has a more ambitious goal of covering Europe as a whole. It also contains contributions with a wider, ecumenical, and international perspective. Both volumes are indications of a new interest in the affairs of Europe's churches during the traumatic years of World War II.

Such collections are helpful in providing up-to-date summaries of previous detailed research (valuably listed in the numerous footnotes), as is the case with the initial and interesting essays on the position of the Vatican and of the Protestant World Council of Churches. On the other hand, some of

these contributions are rather too narrowly focused. But that is par for the course.

Part 1 surveys aspects of church life in different European regions, such as excellent accounts of the Protestant churches in Scandinavia or the Catholic churches in France and the Low Countries. Most interesting, because less well known, is the survey of Catholic life in east-central Europe from Czechia and Slovakia—where the pro-Nazi state president was a Catholic priest—to Hungary and Poland. The fate of the Church in this last country, as described by Emilia Hrabovec, was particularly grim. Nazi occupation policy was implemented by the most radical anticlerical and antisemitic SS troops, determined to destroy Poland's national identity. Hundreds of clergy were murdered or sent to concentration camps.The result was that Polish Catholic life was driven to depend on the laity and to attempt to uphold the ideal of Polish nationalism at the local popular level.

These essays give an excellent picture of the diversity of wartime church circumstances.The Nazi occupation and control was exercised in markedly different ways in different countries.The churches' reactions also differed widely, due to their own varieties of theological and historical traditions, varying from open resistance to accommodating compromise. But there was rarely any common Christian stance, or indeed even ecumenical collaboration among the major churches.

Parts 2 and 3 return to Germany and provide detailed essays on various aspects of the churches' experience under the Nazi dictatorship. When war broke out, the leaders of both major churches adhered to traditional Christian views on the issue of war and military engagement, and justified their participation in defense of their people and nation. Despite the evidence of the Nazis' increasing radicalization and brutalization in the conduct of the war, especially in the east, the majority of churchmen, even after their defeat, still refused to admit that their theology was irrelevant and their guilt pervasive. Instead, churchmen concentrated on survival and emphasized their own sufferings rather than those of the Nazis' victims. Overall, the German churches put up no resistance to Nazi crimes, since loyalty to nation prevailed. Similarly, the evidence is clear that only a tiny handful of compassionate church people were prepared to take the risks of assisting the Jewish victims, while the prevalent antisemitism was shared by both Catholics and Protestants without demur.

On the other hand, the Nazi attempts to achieve totalitarian control and influence over the churches failed, prevented by the strongly conservative theological views held by both Protestants and Catholics.These ambivalences and tensions between the churches and the regime can best be described as "antagonistic cooperation," which may serve as a comprehensive verdict on this tortuous relationship.

The essays in part 4 concern the role of the few churchmen in the resistance movement. Were they Christian martyrs or political traitors? Were they motivated more by religious or political factors? And what is to be said about those who had earlier supported Nazism? Such questions are examined here with skepticism and placed in their historiographical context. In fact, the debates still continue. This German past is not yet finished. It is not even past. These valuable contributions show the reader why.

University of British Columbia JOHN CONWAY

Antisemitism, Christian Ambivalence, and the Holocaust. Edited by Kevin P. Spicer, C.S.C. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 329. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-253-34873-9.)

This excellent collection was published in association with the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) and contains thirteen essays presented at a conference held at the museum in the summer of 2004. The volume is helpfully divided into four major sections: "Theological Antisemitism," "Christian Clergy and the Extreme Right Wing," "Postwar Jewish-Christian Encounters," and "Viewing Each Other."

In the first section, Thorsten Wagner discusses the Lutheran Church and the Jews during the war, Ana Lysiak studies the writings of Polish Catholic theologians on Judaism between the two world wars, Robert Krieg narrates German Catholic views of Jesus and Judaism from World War I through World War II, and Donald Dietrich analyzes the response of Catholic theology to Nazism during and since the Shoah.

In the second section, the editor himself presents his study of a Catholic priest "working for the Führer," Beth A. Griech-Polelle writes on the impact of the Spanish civil war on Roman Catholic clergy in Nazi Germany, and Paul A. Shapiro of the USHMM staff discusses the Iron Guard and the Romanian Catholic Church.

In the third section on postwar Christian reflections and encounters, Matthew Hockenos presents Protestant European views and Elias H. Fullenbach presents Catholic reflections on the Shoah. This latter essay will be of great interest to historians seeking to reconstruct and understand the views and movements that paved the way for the Second Vatican Council's historic document *Nostra Aetate*.

In the final section, Gershon Greenberg presents the encounter with Christianity during the Shoah from the viewpoint of Jewish Orthodoxy, which reveals a range of Jewish views that will likely surprise some readers of this journal. Suzanne Brown-Fleming epitomizes the Catholic-Jewish encounter regarding antisemitism in the life and work of Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, who was adviser on Jewish affairs to the American troops during the war.

Finally, the paper given by Richard Steigmann-Gall, "Old Wine in New Wineskins? Religion and Race in Nazi Anti-Semitism," supposedly wraps up the conference papers. Here, as in the editor's preface, is where I have some real difficulties. Steigmann-Gall wants to debunk "earlier assumptions that religious antisemitism played no part in the formation of its racialist counterpart" in Nazi antisemitism" (p. 289) primarily by citing Nazi writings in which the Nazis themselves claim to be in continuity with Christian teachings. My first difficulty is that Nazi propaganda is not likely to be one's best source of information on an exceedingly complex history. Second, I know of few people in the field who have made such a claim. Rather, most people in the field acknowledge that although there is a distinction to be made between the Christian teaching of contempt and racial antisemitism, the former established the mindset in European Christians, or in Pope John Paul II's words, so "lulled (their) consciences" that they were all too easy prey for Nazi propaganda about the Jews. Steigmann-Gall, it seems, has set up a straw man and knocked him down with an exceedingly odd weapon. His conclusion seems to be that there is no difference at all between Nazi racial antisemitism and centuries-old Christian teaching.

This, of course, is only one essay in an otherwise excellent volume, which normally would not exercise me too much. But the dust jacket unfortunately turns this one-person view, a view shared so far as I can tell by none of the other twelve contributors, into a conclusion all the scholars supposedly share: "They [the essays] dismantle the claim of a distinction between Christian anti-Judaism and neo-pagan anti-Judaism."Again, in the book, helpful and proper distinctions are made for the most part, in different ways, of course, by the different scholars. Fortunately, one cannot really judge a book by its cover.

Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs EUGENE J. FISHER
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United States Conference of Catholic Bishops

American

Church and State in America: The First Two Centuries. By James H. Hutson. [Cambridge Essential Histories.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 207. $21.99 paperback. ISBN 978-0-521-68343-2.)

James H. Hutson, chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, has done as much as anyone in recent years to recover the authentic understanding of the Founding Fathers' views on church and state, in his books *Religion and the Founding of America* (Washington, DC, 1990) and *Forgotten Features of the Founding* (Lanham, MD, 2003). In a sense this latest book sums up his earlier work.

The story is a fairly simple one. No one among the founders believed in absolute separation of church and state in the sense that the modern Supreme

Court erroneously attributes to them. It was taken for granted that there would be religious liberty and that there would not be an established national church. The principal dispute was over direct tax support of the churches, an issue that brought forth a variety of responses. But no one at the time doubted that religion in general was to be encouraged and that it was essential to the moral fiber of the nation.

The book's title is misleading, in that the period after the founding gets only a few pages, which requires leaving out some important issues, such as the sabbatarian laws and various court decisions. (Remarkably, the 1947 *Everson* case, which began the modern era of church-state jurisprudence, did not have a single precedent to back it up.)

The book is part of a semi-popular series and as such has no footnotes or other references, thereby handicapping readers who may want to make use of it in ongoing political discussions. Hutson's account is completely reliable, but his claims would have to be proven by recourse to other works. There is a brief bibliography.

There is an issue that goes unaddressed. Hutson characterizes some of the founders as *politiques*, because they had no firm principles about church and state, but took particular stands mainly to forestall social conflict. To the degree that this is true, it seems to support the modern separationists' otherwise dubious claim that the founders' fear of "divisiveness" was at the root of everything else.

Hutson's works have been invaluable contributions to the debunking of the modern myth of church-state relations, along with Philip Hamburger's *Separation of Church and State* (Cambridge, MA, 2002) and, if I may say so, my own *The Supreme Court and Religion in American Life* (Princeton, 2004). At the scholarly level the myth is no longer sustainable, but at an intermediate level—that of editorial writers, for example—it appears to be indeed set in concrete.

Saint Louis University JAMES HITCHCOCK

American Catholics in the Protestant Imagination: Rethinking the Academic Study of Religion. By Michael P. Carroll. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 219. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-801-88683-6.)

This volume presents not a narrative but an argument. Michael P. Carroll, known for his series of studies of Catholic practice published by the Johns Hopkins University Press, has a case to make about the way Catholicism is handled by sociologists, psychologists, and historians. He thinks that the starting point of many academic colleagues is a taken-for-granted set of assumptions about the nature of true and mature religion and the sort of relationship one should have with God. With these unquestioned assumptions in place, the

scholar goes to work on the empirical evidence in his or her field and constructs an answer to the problem at hand that originates in assumptions rather than explaining the data. Consequently the scholar notices some data and does not notice others. He or she formulates theory and reaches conclusions deducible from the assumptions rather than acts of genuine understanding arising from encounters with the data. Questions are skewed and so distortion ensues. Why are the assumptions not criticized and eliminated in the normal course of research and review? Because the assumptions are so widespread and deeply set in the mind and culture of the scholars that they constitute a group bias. Such a formal analysis is not uncommon in the literature of scholarly debate.

The book is clear in its aims and organization. From the introduction to the epilogue and in the individual chapters, Carroll again and again tells the reader his methods and approach. He spends two chapters telling the reader how some Irish became Protestants in America and how others became good Catholics, correcting the "standard story." He follows with three more chapters, each devoted to a common scholarly perception or story of an ethnic enclave of Catholics, and then shows how the evidence does not support the common story and suggests a revision. In chapter 6 he follows the trail of the invidious assumptions of historians, sociologists, and psychologists (that is, "the Academic Study of American Religion") back to their origins in certain (liberal) Protestant doctrines that function as markers, resources, and lenses for the interpretation of religion in general and Catholicism in particular.

Carroll, on the theoretic side of his case, follows in the line of David Tracy and Andrew Greeley (among others) who have, over the last thirty years and with precious little effect on the academic interpreters of religion apart from Catholics, engaged upon an ambitious program of hermeneutics crucial to which is the contrast between the analogical (Catholic) and the dialectical (Protestant) imagination. Their work is grounded in the cognitional theory of Bernard Lonergan, S.J., whom Carroll does not mention. The point of all this theory is to explain why scholars miss the mark on Catholicism and how they can then correct themselves or be corrected.

The book has many virtues, among which are brevity, clarity, conciseness, deft use of illustrative material from American religious history, and a prose style that is engaging and not at all complicated by the deep thinking it conveys. It is a fine book that deserves a wide readership in the profession.

College of the Holy Cross WILLIAM M. SHEA

New Mexico's Crypto-Jews: Image and Memory. By Cary Herz. Introduction by Ori Z. Soltes. Afterword by Mona Hernández. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2007. Pp. xxii, 154. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-826-34289-8.)

In the last two decades a number of Americans of Hispanic descent in the Southwest have identified themselves in one way or another as Jews.

Fragmentary clues—a grandparent's strident anticlericalism, family dietary customs, candles lit surreptitiously on Friday night, supposedly Jewish iconography on church carvings or gravestones, Hebraic first names, family names supposedly indicating Jewishness—are deemed to constitute a strong circumstantial case for their descent from Spanish or Portuguese Jewish converts from Judaism who made their way to the northern frontiers of the colonial Hispanic world.

As a photographer, Cary Herz has an accomplished eye (analyzed cogently by Ori Soltes in his introduction), and the biographical vignettes that accompany each photo prove he has an ear for anecdote as well. His book is exactly what it purports to be, "a photographic diary of the people I have met . . . [not] a history of the descendants of the crypto-Jews" (p. x). As a chronicle of recorded memories the book makes an important contribution, both visually and as a fascinating compendium of this group's touchstones of identity. Many of the stories that contextualize the images have deeper roots in folklore than in what historians might consider history.

Soltes alludes to the scholarly debate over the claims that this community indeed preserves a crypto-Jewish identity from colonial times, but he does not give any details. Questions unasked in this book, and therefore unanswered, include: Why the six-pointed star so prevalent on New Mexican churches and gravestones must be indicative of Judaism when there is no evidence of its use as a Jewish marker in medieval Iberia or in colonial America? Why leaving pebbles on gravestones is considered a colonial crypto-Jewish custom when the inquisitors—who, by and large, were skilled trackers of "heretics"—never alluded to them? Why were certain family names held to indicate Jewishness when the Inquisition did not consider them so? Why certain Hebraic first names, which are so prevalent in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries not only in the American Southwest but also in Latin America (and for that matter in New England), indicate Jewish roots? Why is the four-sided top, similar to the central-European Ashkenazi dreidel, considered Jewish when, as Judith Neulander persuasively argues,[4] it appears in so many other cultures around the world but is not documented in colonial America? There are credible alternative explanations for each of these phenomena, but this book does not allude to them.[5]

Beyond this, the book is marred by several imprecisions and assumptions of questionable credibility. Two examples: Herz defines *conversos* as "those forced to convert to the Catholic faith during the Spanish and Portuguese

[4]Judith S, Neulander, "The New Mexican Crypto-Jewish Canon: Choosing to be 'Chosen' in Millennial Tradition," *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*, 18, nos. 1–2 (1996), 19–58

[5]Neulander, "The New Mexican Crypto-Jewish Canon." David Gitlitz, "Nexos entre Criptojudíos coloniales y contemporáneos," *Revista de Humanidades: Tecnológico de Monterrey* (Mexico), 5 (1998), 187–209.

Inquisitions" (p. ix). In fact, most conversions occurred between 1391 and the summer of 1492, after which no unconverted Jews legally remained in Spain (and the Inquisition in Spain lasted from 1478 to 1834). The book also asserts that the hidden Jews "came to the New World looking for freedom and survival" (Herz, p. x) and fled to the northwest "where a degree of religious safety might be hoped for" (Soltes, p. 5), yet most of the documentary evidence suggests that *conversos* came to the New World and dispersed from Mexico City and Lima principally for economic reasons.

Yet perhaps these quibbles do not matter very much in the face of depth of commitment of New Mexico's self-identified crypto-Jews. As Herz writes, these people are serious about their Jewish identity, and "their commitment to their hidden roots should not be taken lightly" (p. x). More interesting than the question of the historical validity of those claims are questions like these: How does this mantle of Jewish identity function for these individuals, and how does it relate to the Hispanic Catholic culture from which they emerge? Why has much of the American Jewish community so uncritically embraced these claims, while doing very little to welcome these crypto-Jews into the congregations of mainstream Judaism? For that matter, what determines Jewishness: Beliefs? Practices? Genetics? Self-concept? How *should* Judaism deal with these demands for membership? And how does what is happening in the American Southwest parallel, or differ from, similar emerging crypto-Jewish movements in Mexico, Central America, the Andean nations and Brazil, and the Iberian Peninsula itself?

University of Rhode Island DAVID GITLITZ

Rituals of Resistance: African Atlantic Religion in Kongo and the Lowcountry South in the Era of Slavery. By Jason R. Young. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 258. $40.00. ISBN 978-0-807-13279-1.)

An expertly researched and fascinating historical study of "cultural recuperation" and "cultural generation" (p. 18), *Rituals of Resistance* is a major contribution to our understanding of African Atlantic religion. Carefully discussing the Kongo kingdom as it was fracturing under the violence of the transatlantic slave trade and craftily mining a wide range of primary sources in numerous languages, Jason Young paints a compelling portrait of Kongolese "traditional" religion and the various Kongolese receptions of Catholicism beginning at the end of the fifteenth century, which provided thousands of enslaved West Central Africans with "a certain vocabulary of ritual expression." Young persuasively argues that this vocabulary was a taproot of slave culture in the Lowcountry (eastern South Carolina and eastern Georgia) during the slave era, the antebellum period, and beyond, as it provided the means by which African American religion there took shape on its own terms and represented "a central form of resistance not only against the system of slavery but also against

the very ideological underpinnings that supported slavery in the first place" (p. 11).

Following an introduction that situates Young in an impressive lineage of classical and contemporary scholars of African Atlantic culture (e.g., Melville J. Herskovits, Sterling Stuckey [Young's mentor], Sidney Mintz, Richard Price, James H. Sweet, et al.), and a chapter effectively contextualizing the presence of Kongolese slaves in the American South, the body of this book consists of three chapter-length case studies that illustrate the "recuperation" and "generation" of Kongolese religion in the Lowcountry. The first case study is preceded by a splendid depiction of religion in the Kongo Kingdom from the late-fifteenth to the early-eighteenth century, the period in which Catholicism was adopted by many Kongolese. Here Young asserts that John Thornton's earlier claims about the "authenticity" of Kongolese Catholicism are overstated; that Catholicism in Kongo took "at least five different forms" (p. 44), some of which were marginal at best. In this case study, Young explains the nature and function of Kongolese water spirits (*simbi, bisimbi* pl.) and of the powerful appeal of the Catholic sacrament of baptism to the Kongolese not as a means of salvation in the Catholic soteriological sense but "as a means of protection from evil spirits" (p. 53). How their *simbi* spirituality and prior appropriated/indigenized notions of Catholic baptism in Kongo deeply informed the perception of thousands of enslaved Africans of baptism in the Protestant experience in America is discussed masterfully in the second half of this long chapter.

The other two case studies follow transatlantic suit in demonstrating the influence of Kongolese *minkisi* ("ritual object[s] invested with otherworldly power" [p. 110]) on conjure culture among African Americans in the Lowcountry and, respectively, the influence of Kongolese burial traditions and ancestral spirituality on black funerary traditions and perceptions of death, dying, and rebirth among African descended peoples in antebellum America. These case studies are, too, very effectively developed and supportively woven into Young's thesis about resistance in the "African Atlantic Religious Complex."

Although some readers might regret that certain key terms such as *conversion*, *ritual*, *performance*, *religion*, and *Western* do not receive anything like the careful and sophisticated treatment that Young devotes to *culture*, I found myself transfixed by the powerful and amazing stories that Young has assembled in demonstrating that "(o)n both sides of the Atlantic the faithful proved adept at resolving and amending Christian doctrine and dogma in line with their own cosmological conceptions and with the immediacy of their own condition" (p. 44). In doing so, the faithful made an indelible contribution to resistance against white supremacy.

Temple University TERRY REY

The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America. By Thomas S. Kidd. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 392. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11887-2.)

Not another book on the Great Awakening in American history! No. This is a book to end all books on the Great Awakening, substituting a powerful new force in American Christianity: evangelicalism. We will be able to discard the old terminology of the First and Second Great Awakening as outmoded and irrelevant. The "First" never ended, and the "Second" is merely subsumed under the larger label of the evangelical movement. If all this requires some rethinking and reordering of priorities, Thomas Kidd's probing and persuasive book provides the justification.

Over fifty pages of detailed endnotes demonstrate that this new structure has not been arrived at quickly nor without the widest reading. The author has read everything, both the older classics and the freshest interpretations, and he has brought keen insight and careful integration to the whole. With a lively style, Kidd runs the risk of giving "monographic research" a good name. He also demonstrates that this kind of careful reflection and analysis still has its rightful place of highest priority in historical writing.

Roughly the first half of the book treats material that one would expect to find in a book carrying the main title of "The Great Awakening." But the treatment bristles with new insights and unexpected sources. One insight is that the Awakening did not arrive suddenly and then depart in a similar manner. The revivalist excitement may have caught many by surprise in its intensity and seeming spontaneity, but it did not come to an abrupt halt—and perhaps to no halt at all. The author speaks of the first outbreak as "a long Great Awakening," and it is that longevity that permanently reshapes the character of Protestantism in America. Although Kidd does not neglect the impact of English Puritanism, Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism, and Continental Pietism, he acknowledges that "once the American revivals began in earnest, around 1740," the internal dynamics of the American side take over (p. xiv).

The author does such a good job with these "dynamics" (a nice word for contention, controversy, and mutual recrimination) that the wonder is that evangelicalism attained the status of a movement at all. Just as participants in the eighteenth century found much to argue about, so modern-day survivors in the twenty-first century will not all agree on where evangelical Christianity has come from or exactly where it is going. But all this just testifies to the vitality and significance of the subject.

In the second half of the book, Kidd narrows his focus a bit to give special attention to the Separatist movement, to Native Americans and African Americans, to the "interior parts" of early America, to the flashy growth of Baptists and then Methodists, and to the role of religion (especially millennialism) in the American Revolution. If on occasion, the reader feels that the

author is getting carried away, then careful attention to the endnotes affirms that the solid ground of history has not been traded in for the sinking sand of thesis joyriding. Throughout this fine book, the reader has not been cheated in any way, only richly rewarded.

University of California, Riverside (Emeritus) EDWIN S. GAUSTAD

Jesus Is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America. By Aaron Spencer Fogleman. [Early American Studies.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2007. Pp. x, 330. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-812-23992-8.)

Radical pietism is rapidly becoming a fertile field of inquiry in the area of church history. With the appearance of W. R. Ward's *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670–1789* (Cambridge, 2006) and Thomas Kidd's *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven, 2007), Aaron Fogleman's foray into radical religion in early America is in good critical company. However, whereas Ward invites the reader to consider the significant role of Kabbalah, alchemy, and mysticism in the development of an alternative expression of faith in the long eighteenth century, and Kidd examines the broader historical and social context of evangelical Christianity in the North American colonies, Fogleman chooses instead to focus narrowly on the eighteenth-century polemic against the Protestant sect of the Moravians.

Fogleman organizes his work into three parts: "Religion and Gender," "The Moravian Challenge," and "Religious Violence and the Defense of Order." While the first two sections focus quite narrowly on an interpretation of Moravian theology, drawing on printed and manuscript sources, the final part attempts to provide an explanation for isolated incidents of orthodox Lutheran violence and judicial censure that Fogleman argues constitute a response to the theory and practice of Moravian theology in the American colonies. Given that this tripartite structure relies heavily on the accurate interpretation and presentation of Moravian thought and practice, it is unfortunate that the author falls short on the former, thus compromising the latter. For example, Fogleman makes the startling claim that for the Moravians of the first half of the eighteenth century, "[Jesus] became female by giving birth through the sidewound, which in portraiture, speech and hymnology became a womb" (p. 80). This is a quite erroneous reading of Moravian theology and iconography, which rests on the author's insistence on a rigid isomorphism between cultural artifacts and lived practice of the eighteenth-century Moravian church. In so doing, Fogelman claims that depictions in private devotionals of domestic scenes framed within the red margins of a *vulna/vulva* must represent a *lived* reality of a female Christ, thereby excluding any notion of Christ's maleness.

Fogleman cites as an example of the radical isomorphism of the early eighteenth-century Moravian church the practices of the Single Brothers Choir, where in Herrnhaag in 1748, the brothers were all "accepted and declared as single sisters" (p. 89). However, whereas Fogleman reads this declaration as a "gender transformation" (p. 89), it is far more in keeping with the mysticism that Ward points to that such practices and liturgies allowed men within the Moravian communities of the early-eighteenth century to continue in a tradition of "vulnerable masculinity" that had long been available as a gender role within spiritual communities, in which a model of vulnerable masculinity could be found in the image of the wounded Christ. For eighteenth-century Moravians, this was a Christ who retained a dominant appearance of masculinity, but with what one could call feminine marks. And this gender confusion is central to an understanding of the eighteenth-century Moravian Christ, just as it is for the medieval mystics.

In this work, Fogleman is correct in identifying the mode of representing Jesus with female characteristics as a sign of a site of cultural struggle, but the crucial fact remains that this Moravian Jesus was not female but eternally male, eternally vulnerable and male, and signifying a cultural struggle not only between "radical pietism" and orthodox Lutheranism but also encompassing an important moment of crisis and transition in the history of masculinity.

Bucknell University KATHERINE FAULL

Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727–1834. By Emily Clark. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 287. $59.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-807-83122-9; $22.50 paperback, ISBN 978-0-807-85822-6.)

In 1727, a group of Ursuline nuns arrived in New Orleans. Like their sisters back home in France, the mission of these women was to educate women and girls and spread the Catholic faith. Their ideals and the community that they founded would survive not only the long voyage from France but also the city's passage from French to Spanish colonial rule and finally its integration into the new, primarily Protestant, American Republic. Emily Clark's book tells the story of how this remarkable community of women adapted to these changes and in the process helped shape American history.

From the outset, the nuns were forced to compromise and adapt to meet the needs of their new environment. The leaders of New Orleans originally sought nurses to run the public hospital, but a nursing shortage led them to turn to the Ursulines, a teaching order. The contract signed by the nuns specified that their work was to center primarily on the hospital, although they were permitted to conduct some educational work on the side. But once they arrived, the nuns managed to delay taking on the hospital work for seven years until their new convent, adjacent to the hospital, was completed and were thus able to focus

on their educational mission. The success of that mission is evidenced by the unusually high level of female literacy in eighteenth-century New Orleans.

The nuns brought with them a "spiritual universalism" and an activist female piety that were rooted in the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Their mission was inclusive of all the women of New Orleans, and their students came from diverse social and racial backgrounds. With the arrival of Spanish rule in the 1760s, the nuns had to adapt to a more rigidly hierarchical racial code by, for example, segregating white students from students of color. Even more challenging was the adjustment to the emerging slave society of the American Republic. While the nuns were not opposed to slavery—and were themselves slave owners—their efforts to evangelize African slaves encouraged the emergence of a "distinctly feminine" multiracial Church in New Orleans.

Clark's gendered reading of Louisiana's transition from colony to statehood shows how competing ideals of femininity were at the heart of struggles over political and religious authority in the years after the Louisiana Purchase. If the "transformation of Louisiana's inhabitants from colonial subjects to republican citizens" (p. 229) was based on the exclusion of nonwhites and women, the convent offered a site of resistance to the construction of the white male citizen. Clark argues that the convent as an institution was fundamentally incompatible with republican ideals of womanhood in that it offered women a space independent of home and family, thus challenging the ideal of domesticity upon which the new Republic rested. While Clark's portrayal of Protestantism as inherently more restrictive of women than Catholicism is a bit over-simple, she is right that Protestantism was more easily incorporated into the republican patriarchal model of the early Republic, and her argument helps us to understand the violent attacks on convents in nineteenth-century America as more than just expressions of nativism.

This meticulously researched and engaging book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the intertwined histories of race, gender, and religion in American history. Clark's mastery of both European and American sources, and her deep understanding of the European religious culture that shaped the New Orleans Ursulines, make this a model of transatlantic history. Drawing on Old World traditions, these "masterless mistresses" left a legacy of female community that provided a vital alternative to the dominant ideologies of race and gender in early America.

Hawai'i Pacific University LINDA LIERHEIMER

A Tree Rooted in Faith: A History of Queen of Angels Monastery. By Alberta Dieker, O.S.B. (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock. 2007. Pp. xii, 208. $24.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-556-35460-1.)

A Tree Rooted in Faith explores the narrative of the Queen of Angels Benedictine Monastery in Oregon. The author, Alberta Dieker, O.S.B., seeks to

show that out of contested, uncertain, and turbulent circumstances Benedictine women crafted a viable and enduring community of professed religious in the American West. The account ranges from the mid-nineteenth-century formation of the Maria Rickenbach Benedictine convent in Switzerland to the present ministry of the community at Mt. Angel, Oregon. This is an important publication for three reasons.

First, this book joins a current trend that relies on critical analysis to examine the role of religious women in building American Catholicism. Once only seen through a haze of glossy piety, nuns and sisters are at last presented as independent and perceptive women, acting through personal agency for the benefit of their religious order and their Church. As Dieker shows, nuns who left European monasteries for American convents did not allow an array of obstacles to deter them from their congregational and faith-grounded goals. Hazardous travel, illness and death, language barriers, anti-Catholic activists, excessive poverty, as well as misunderstandings between and among colleagues may have threatened but did not defeat the many sisters who dedicated themselves to the mission fields. Their diverse labors, complex decisions, and bold vision significantly strengthened the early American Church, which encountered a number of challenges specific to the United States. That these Benedictine women persevered against forceful opposition—not the least of which came from abbots and bishops—helps to explain the flowering of a robust Roman Catholic faith on American soil.

Second, the author places Catholic missionaries within the larger context of the western epic, demonstrating how they meshed with the general migration patterns of the nineteenth century. Fueled by common immigrant impulses, such as the desire to escape disagreeable companions, to claim promising new lands, or to carve out fresh venues of power, these Oregon Benedictines understood and seized the opportunities of the West. Through their initiatives to build schools, convents, hospitals, and chapels, the sisters dramatically increased the visibility of the institutional church in the West, even as they wrestled with definitions of a Benedictine identity cast upon an American stage. Thus, the pioneer travel and settlement of the Benedictine women duplicated the lives of their lay counterparts but also embraced issues particular to a monastic environment.

Third, *A Tree Rooted in Faith* depicts men and women religious and secular as real people. Drawing on a rich collection of archival records, Dieker teases out the personalities and their controversies with an even hand, suggesting reasonable explanations for many opaque conflicts. As a result, this is a work notable for its direct and measured tone, one that illuminates the humanity and the spirituality of those who have been part of the Queen of Angels Monastery. *A Tree Rooted in Faith,* graced by engaging photographs, although lacking maps and an index, reminds the reader that the histories of religious

women are central to understanding Catholicism in the American West and the nation at large.

Utah State University (Emerita) ANNE M. BUTLER

White Ethnic New York: Jews, Catholics, and the Shaping of Postwar Politics. By Joshua M. Zeitz. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xvi, 278. $65.00 clothbound, $24.95 paperback.)

Joshua M. Zeitz examines the impact of religious and ethnic tenets on the political alliances that were forged and broken in New York City in the middle of the twentieth century. Focusing on Jews and white ethnic Catholics, Zeitz considers how the teachings and ideology absorbed in the churches and synagogues of the five boroughs influenced the evolution of ethnic politics between the New Deal and the social unrest of the 1960s. At the center of his argument is the observation that religiously based attitudes toward authority and dissent were primary in the political sensibility and strategies employed by the white ethnics who moved on from the alliances forged by Franklin Delano Roosevelt into the fractious postwar world of New York City.

To lay the foundation of his argument, Zeitz considers not just the catechism and Torah of both faiths but also a strong array of primary sources including oral histories, significant rabbinical speeches, sermons, and religious publications to demonstrate the inherent radical and conservative tendencies of Jews and Catholics respectively. He begins with the early history of first-generation Irish, Italian, and Jewish immigrants from the turn of the twentieth century and their experience in finding a voice in the political, social, and labor communities of New York. His points are provocative, and his evidence compelling, but it is sometimes selectively applied to make his points. He seems more comfortable and thorough in his discussion of Jewish religious and political positions. However, his examination of exactly how the religious influence and culture of a group seeps into the other elements of their lives offers great examples for scholars to consider seriously how the messages delivered at the kitchen table or within houses of worship translate to the campus and ballot box. This argument is not new, but his argument is so specific and detailed that it is quite fresh.

One of his more interesting anecdotes demonstrates his detail, but also the need to read his work within a broader context. Mark Rudd was the Columbia University student who led the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) takeover of the Ivy League campus in 1968. Zeitz suggests that Rudd's radicalism was not simply a generational dispute with his parents' way of life, as much of 1960s protest is typically explained. The author argues that Rudd actually embraced the culture of dissent that his middle-class Jewish background encouraged. To prove his point, Zeitz presents the testimony of Rudd's parents and other parents of protesters, most of whom were Jewish, who supported

the students and felt the administration was wrong to stifle student protest. In contrast, Zeitz points out that the Columbia students who opposed Rudd and the SDS summarized their differences simply: "We're Staten Island; they're Scarsdale." Zeitz points to the statement as a coded reference to the ethnic and religious divide between the groups: European Catholic versus Jewish, but it also highlights their socioeconomic differences. Staten Island is clearly working class and Scarsdale distinctly middle to upper-middle class and privileged. How much of that entitlement figures into the student protests on campuses like Columbia? The influence of economics is also absent from Zeitz's interpretation of the impact of the Second Vatican Council on Catholics and Catholic youths in particular. He suggests that loosened stricture encouraged challenge and individual thought, but how much did affluence and a degree open the door to a more lax adherence to church law and the pastor's word as well as popular acceptance of Vatican II?

It is difficult to deny the power of religious thought and tradition on immigrant and ethnic groups. But they do not function in isolation. Zeitz's work raises as many questions as it answers. His is a valuable contribution to the study of the ethnic and religious experience in New York. It offers solid evidence for the very real differences between the ethnic groups who ran the city in the middle of the century and how their religious identities shaped their politics even as the communities matured.

New York University LINDA DOWLING ALMEIDA

Strangers in a Foreign Land: The Organizing of Catholic Latinos in the United States. By George E. Schultze, S.J. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007. Pp. xii, 175. $52.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-739-11745-3; $24.94 paperback, 978-0-739-11746-0.)

George Schultze, S.J., has made a timely contribution to contemporary writings on the Catholic Church, Latino workers, and U.S. labor movement. Chapter 2, "Catholicism and Worklife," provides a very readable and substantive overview of scriptural, patristic, medieval, and post-Reformation reflection on Christian and Catholic teaching on work. Much of it could be useful to Protestant and Catholic organizers as well as labor activists and secularists.

Chapter 3, "U.S. Labor History and Catholic Participation," introduces the continuing tension between a more focused economic-political tactic of skilled trade unionism and a wider communal-societal tactic of unskilled service unionism. This tension between two types of unionization manifested itself in AFL-Samuel Gompers' rejection of Fr. Peter Dietz's attempt to create a formal relationship between the AFL and the American Federation of Catholic Societies so that joint positions on strikes, industrial education, social services, and other concerns could be formulated. Schultze said it well: "[The] labor movement valued the support of sympathetic Catholic clergy, but it did not

want to lose its autonomy or cause sectarian divisions within its ranks" (p. 64). The record of "the support of sympathetic Catholic Clergy" about the U.S. bishops' 1919 letter on social reconstruction and Msgr. John A. Ryan's relationship to "Progressives" and "Social Gospelers" is a striking rebuke to authors alleging that later Catholic involvement in labor-management issues was more an anticommunistic crusade than a sincere dedication to the improvement of workers' livelihood, especially by effective and unimpeded unionization.

Chapter 5, "U.S. Labor 1940 to 2000," documents some of that sincere and effective dedication of labor priests and labor schools. The section "Farm Workers" is a comprehensive, insightful, and honest account of the monumental achievements of Cesar Chavez, head of United Farm Workers (UFW).

No punches are pulled about some failings of labor leaders and even Chavez. It is pleasant to see long-overdue credit given to other labor priests and California and Texas bishops. However, more would have been welcome about Sister Mary Beth Larkin and other women religious who worked often with little or no recognition. Jesuits should be very proud of Fr. James Vizzard, S.J., legislative director for the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, and of Chavez, for their significant work in the passage of much federal legislation so beneficial to farm workers. Schultze lays out the significant role of community organizations in Chavez's crusade and their significant potential to assist the labor movement in support of Latino workers throughout the nation.

In chapter 6, "A Swing to the Cultural Left Leaves the Catholic on the Sidelines," and chapter 7, "A Need for Change," Schultze criticizes some service unions supporting abortion and gay marriages, opposing school vouchers, yet attempting to attract devout Catholic Hispanic workers to their ranks. Apparently, he is unaware or unappreciative of the resolute practice of labor priests not to attack unions publicly on issues crucial to the Church, often after private conversations had occurred. Examples include the behind-the-scenes efforts of Bishop Francis Haas to offset the split of the CIO from the AFL in the 1930s and Msgr. George Higgins's attempt to have the AFL-CIO Executive Council withdraw support for abortion, despite the pressure of some international unions to do otherwise. Can the reader assume that Schultze has been in private discussions with some of the service unions he has criticized?

As a friend of the labor movement, Schultze wants it to grow, to succeed in organizing Hispanic and other workers, to see the passage of the Employee Free Choice Act, to educate a wide audience about past glories of the labor movement and its relationships with the Catholic Church, and to honestly critique failures of the labor movement. He also wants to stem the erosion of union democracy, to heal the rift between the AFL-CIO and the "Change to Win" forces, and to warn the labor movement of the dangers of espousing values at odds with Latino and other Catholics. Schultze is also concerned about Catholic labor leaders and Catholic activists succumbing to the secular camp and about

silence of the theologians and ecclesiastics on the drift of the Church to the left and/or secularism. However, does that concern mean Catholic activists may not assist those criticized unions in other campaigns? Are the U.S. labor unions that serve a pluralistic membership to be dragged into the same vortex as U.S. politics? What could be said about any mediating effort to undo the rift between the AFL-CIO and the "Change to Win" supporters?

There are important omissions, however. Granted, the impact of Jesuits was outstanding, but so was that of many non-Jesuits, especially those so crucial to the labor priests and labor schools. Schultze could have given more credit to George Meany for ousting criminal and gangster elements; for playing a crucial role in passing national civil rights legislation, as recognized by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and for putting strong pressure on the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to end its obstruction of the UFW. Schultze gives too little attention to the continued unwillingness of U.S. employers, even in Catholic institutions, to recognize the validity of the U.S. labor movement's right to exist and to the impact of burgeoning international trade agreements. He could have been more cognizant of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists' significant contribution.

In conclusion, Schultze's book has enriched minds and hearts. More is now known about the social teachings of the Catholic Church, the history of the U.S. labor movement, the years of collaboration between U.S. Catholics and the U.S. labor movement, and the perils to that relationship because of the tense challenges over values. Hopefully, more may be done to relieve that tension, so that greater improvement may be achieved for the economic, political, social, and spiritual life of all workers.

King's College, Wilkes-Barre, PA PATRICK J. SULLIVAN, C.S.C.

The Dissenting Tradition in American Education. By James C. Carper and Thomas C. Hunt. (New York: Peter Lang. 2007. Pp. xii, 286. $32.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-820-47920-0.)

The central premise of *The Dissenting Tradition in American Education* is uncompromisingly stated in its introduction: "[T]he public school is the functional equivalent of an established church, buttressed with religious language, expected to embrace all people, legitimating and transmitting an orthodoxy or worldview, and underwritten by compulsory taxation" (p. 4). Beginning with Catholic opposition to the use of the King James Bible in nineteenth-century public schools and continuing through protests against the secularism of contemporary public education, *The Dissenting Tradition* examines not only challenges to specific viewpoint(s) promoted by publicly funded schools but also opposition to the very notion of state involvement in education.

The authors identify themselves as an evangelical Protestant (Carper) and a Catholic (Hunt). "Despite our differing theological traditions and educational experiences," they write, "we believe that . . . the current structure of public education is incompatible with America's confessional pluralism (citizens embrace different answers to 'first order' questions, such as 'What is the nature of the cosmos?') and our sacred commitment to universal liberty of conscience in matters of education and religion" (p. 5). Through a series of case studies, they demonstrate how America's secularist public-school system arose out of religious differences between Protestants and Catholics in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Faced with the likelihood that a significant proportion of public funding for religious schools would go toward the support of Catholic education, policymakers preferred to allocate tax funding only to state-run secular schools. Moreover, strong popular advocacy of public education as a means of promoting patriotism—most notably by "Americanizing" immigrant children—resulted in restrictions on alternative forms of education, such as parochial schools and home schooling. In recent years, however, attitudes and policies have changed, leading Carper and Hunt to suggest that the time may be ripe for what they describe as "the 'disestablishment' of public education" (p. 9).

At the heart of *The Dissenting Tradition* lies the fundamental question of the state's proper role in education. Four models are discussed: the state supports only secular schools under its own control; the state runs secular schools while funding other schools, which may be religious; the state runs no schools but provides funds for religious or secular schools of the parents' choice; or the state plays no role in either funding or regulating the education of children, leaving that matter entirely in the hands of parents and religious communities. The case studies through which these alternatives are explored are compellingly presented, intertwining summaries of political and philosophical arguments with accounts of real people to whom they represent not abstract ideas, but a worldview on which the very meaning of life depends.

As a history of Catholic and Protestant efforts to challenge the ideas promoted by public schools and to advance alternative forms of education, *The Dissenting Tradition* is highly effective. Its weak point is that even as it describes this long-running conflict clearly and cogently, it assumes that the existence of the controversy is, in itself, sufficient justification for "disestablishing" public education in some manner that includes the funding of alternative schooling, including religious education, but is otherwise unspecified. The book does not refute—or even acknowledge—the main points likely to be raised on the other side of the debate; in particular, it scarcely mentions either the political implications of "disestablishing" the public school system or the constitutional issues involved in state funding of religious education. To be sure, supporters of public education may be viewed as self-interested and wrongheaded, and Supreme Court decisions interpreting the First and Fourteenth Amendments may be deemed faulty. Nevertheless, arguing for a

dramatic change in the existing structure of the public-school system almost exclusively on the basis of longstanding religious opposition to it is unlikely to persuade anyone who was not already predisposed to agree with that premise. The book presents a compelling history of dissent and a ringing justification thereof, but its explanation of the remedy it recommends leaves the reader with more questions than answers.

University of Delaware JOAN DELFATTORE

Religion, Culture, and Politics in the Twentieth-Century United States. By Mark Hulsether. [Columbia Series in Religion and Politics.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 2007. Pp. vi, 249. $24.50. ISBN 978-0-231-14403-2.)

Hulsether has succeeded admirably in his goal, to provide a textbook tour guide to the broad contours as well as to some specific case studies of religion, culture, and politics in recent U.S. history. Throughout the text, Hulsether uses the concept of mapping and touring as student-friendly ways to suggest how to think about religion in more complexly textured ways than students usually bring to the subject.

The work begins with some reflections on religion, culture, and hegemony, which he defines here as achieving consent without coercion, and establishing a "common sense" for a culture such that socially produced norms and structures come to be seen as natural and inevitable. In this fashion, Hulsether gently guides readers, including undergraduates, into considering thicker descriptions and deeper analyses of religious belief and practice than normally come into the classroom. After a relatively lengthy introductory chapter providing a quick overview of religion in America to the twentieth century, Hulsether provides parallel chapters on "religion and social conflict" and "cultural aspects of religion" first for the earlier twentieth century and then for the later twentieth century. The conclusion considers "consensus" models for religion in America (largely conservative normative visions of a Christian America) and pluralist models obviously favored by liberals. Implicitly rejecting both, Hulsether proposes his own model: to "analyze cases where religion, culture, and politics come together in terms of the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic goals that are in play" (p. 238). Again, the scary academic words there immediately come in view with concrete cases and thoughtful questions: "Would it be better—especially for minorities but also for majorities—to live in a land where a live-and-let-live approach is hegemonic? Conversely, does a society that valorizes postmodern pluralism reflect the hegemony of consumerism and dog-eat-dog corporate values?" (p. 238). Rather than beginning with "building consensus or celebrating diversity," Hulsether suggests that his own model fosters the task of learning to "think wisely—in concrete cases—about both harmonious pluralism and intractable conflict, both diversity and power imbalance" (p. 240).

Hulsether also provides clear-headed analyses of numerous particular subjects. For example, Hulsether provides a nice summary of William Jennings Bryan's role in the Scopes episode, showing how he worried more about how "evolutionary theory eroded democracy . . . strengthened militarism and Social Darwinism" than he did about defending the stories of Genesis; as well, he also "saw himself upholding the rights of local communities to set their own educational goals" (p. 135). Again, this story has become familiar to scholars through the works of Edward Larson and others, but these understandings scarcely have reached a broader or student audience. In another useful section, Hulsether shows how Reinhold Niebuhrian thought in practice "carried forward the tradition of religious support for U.S. foreign policy, as well as optimism about the U.S. as the standard-bearer for progress in the world" (p. 105), effectively puncturing those who would deify the Protestant theoretician of power. Finally, Hulsether nicely parses the overly hyped numbers of religious immigration, showing that the pluralist reveries of some recent commentators exaggerate the numerical impact of non-Christian immigrant religions, which collectively number about the percentage of the population that Jews did a century ago.

Scholars of U.S. religion will find this book a most useful and engaging survey text for their field and one eminently adoptable for the classroom.

University of Colorado at Colorado Springs PAUL HARVEY

Latin American

Religion in New Spain. Edited by Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. Pp. x, 368. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-826-33978-2.)

This collection of sixteen essays is a significant contribution to the history of the Church in colonial Mexico. It grew out of a conference at Tulane University in 2000 to celebrate the career of Richard Greenleaf. Many of these studies break new ground in analyzing not just the actions of the missionaries but the response of the natives as well.

The book is organized in seven parts. The first part looks at native responses to Christianity. Chapter 1, by Kevin Terraciano, studies native responses to Christianity in early colonial Oaxaca. Lisa Sousa focuses her essay on the sacrament of marriage among the Nahua people in the early colonial period. In chapter 3, David Tavárez analyzes ambivalent acceptance of Christianity among the Zapotec and the ensuing efforts to extirpate idolatry in that region. The second part explores issues of native sexual morality and the effects of Christianity on them. In chapter 4, Sonya Lipsett-Rivera examines the body and the language of the body as a means to understand religious thought and syncretism. John Chuchiak presents a well-researched study of solicitation

in the confessional in colonial Yucatan. The third part looks at miracles, with Martha Few studying miraculous healings among children. In chapter 7, Jeanette Favrot Peterson analyzes the development of the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in the seventeenth century. Part 4 looks at the role of nuns in colonial New Spain. Asuncion Lavrin discusses female visionaries and their spirituality, and Mónica Díaz analyzes the indigenous nuns in the convent of Corpus Christi. The fifth part looks at the Inquisition. In chapter 10, María Elena Martínez examines racial categories and purity of blood as evidenced in Inquisition testimony. Stanley Hordes focuses on the relationship between the Inquisition and crypto-Jews on the northern frontier. Javier Villa-Flores discusses the Inquisition's handling of the intersection of blasphemy and gambling. In part 6, the works center on music and martyrs. Kristen Dutcher Mann presents a study of music among the Franciscan and Jesuit missions in the north. Maureen Ahern discusses ritual warfare in the early missionary frontier of the northwest. The last part is more general, containing two essays. James Riley studies priests within the social order of Tlaxcala in the mid to late colonial period, while Michael Polushin looks at elites and reform efforts in late colonial Chiapas.

The essays are well written by scholars of great note, each in his or her specialty. Because the work covers such a broad range of topics, it is sure to be of interest to many who study nearly any aspect of colonial Mexican history. Some of the major themes running through the book are the issues related to the missionary effort. The interface between missionary and the natives is of critical importance. Unlike works of forty years ago, these studies grant far more agency to the natives in their efforts to process the import of Christianity within their own cultural framework. Another important topic deals with the notions of the miraculous and the mundane. In the study of Guadalupe, music, and the martyrs of the northern frontier, there are glimpses into a mentality that was unique and very important to the seventeenth century. As a group, the essays on the Inquisition are extremely helpful, looking at the Holy Office in several different contexts, including two frontier areas. This book is an important contribution to the literature. Each essay both fits within the larger topic of the work as a whole and stands on its own merits.

State University of New York at Potsdam JOHN F. SCHWALLER

Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521–1821. By Kelly Donahue-Wallace. [Diálogos.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2008. Pp. xxviii, 276, 32 color plates. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-826-33459-6.)

This is a good and useful overview of the art and architecture of the Spanish viceroyalties of what we now call Latin America. The task is not a simple one. The geography of the area is immense and its history complex, and we are still far from having a corpus of works that is close to complete and

available for study, except for a few localized instances. Kelly Donahue-Wallace manages to include much information into her text, however, and presents it within a structure guided basically by chronology, medium, and genre, illustrated by relatively few well-chosen examples. The book is written for U.S. university-level students with little previous knowledge of the topic, and it can also serve a more general audience.

Although Donahue-Wallace says little about historiography, she is well versed in it. Only very few truly major authors are missing from her bibliography. She also includes excerpts from primary sources in sidebars throughout the text, and her notes are admirable for their range, including one archival gem (p. 153), which is rare in books of this nature. Some mistakes, however, are evident. For example, "miserere" chapels (p. 28) also occur in Mexico, and Xoxoteco is not an open chapel (p. 41).

Presumably because of the book's intended audience, Donahue-Wallace stays with her choice of examples, which is sensible, and limits the topics of her discussion, which is more problematic. Although her text is full of detailed descriptions, she omits any general treatment of forms and styles from her discussion. Aside from the understandable yet "uneasy relationship with period labels" (p. xvi), as she puts it, her decision to concentrate on iconography in dealing with painting, for example, is more limiting than liberating. Predictably, she cannot avoid dealing with form and often does it very well. However, the specter of the European canon is honored in its negation, rather than exorcised in a refashioning to suit not only viceregal material but also art history in general. Indeed, period labels have never been fixed entities. Witness the term *mannerism*, which appears in this text without qualifications.

Other problems are less extensive but should be mentioned. The editing could have been more careful in its checking of constructions and vocabulary: for example, "pearlescent" (p. 155) is not English, "albañileros" (p. 102) is not Spanish, and "Sevilla" appears throughout rather than "Seville." Also, the author's knowledge of Catholic culture seems a bit thin at times. For example, the Jesuits are not a monastic order; they do not live in "conventos," and their fourth vow is to undertake any work that the pope enjoins on them, not to perform mission work. Finally, although the color plates are good, even excellent in some cases, the black-and-white illustrations are disappointing.

Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas,
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
CLARA BARGELLINI

El Carmelo Novohispano. By Manuel Ramos Medina. (Mexico: Centro de Estudios de Historia de Mexico Carso. 2008. Pp. 393. MXN $200. Paperback. ISBN 968-6-81530-9.).

Los franciscanos en Chile: Una historia de 450 años. Edited by René Millar Carvacho and Horacio Aránguiz Donoso. (Santiago de Chile: Academia Chilena de la Historia. 2005. Pp. 349. CLP $10,000. Paperback. ISBN 978-9-567-56305-5.).

Despite the fact that the Carmelite Order has been present in Mexico since the sixteenth century, it has not elicited the interest of many historians. For the colonial period, only the works of Father Dionisio Victoria, published between 1966 and 1991, precede the works of Manuel Ramos Medina, who has previously written two books on the female branch of the order. In *El Carmelo Novohispano*, Ramos surveys the Carmelites between 1586, the date of foundation of the first convent in Mexico City, and 1821, when Mexico gained its independence. Unlike other mendicants, the Carmelites were not missionaries, and despite Philip II's wishes to have them engage in proselytizing, a late-sixteenth-century reform defined them as mendicants, favoring a mixture of spirituality and active advocacy of the faith, except among the indigenous. They remained an urban- and Spanish-oriented order.

This work does not pretend to be an exhaustive history of the Carmelites. As the author points out, there are still many themes in their history open to future historians. However, this effort to reawaken interest in the order is commendable. Ramos examines the convents' establishment and related topics such as hacienda ownership and administration, the construction of models of exemplar spiritual behavior, personal transgressions, and devotional practices, represented by the activities of confraternities and the public celebration of Carmelite-based religious festivities. He also lists the members of the order between the years 1586 and 1811. Archival and printed sources furnish sometimes colorful data on the personalities of some members of the order. The information on devotional practices is of particular interest to historians in religious studies. A new analytical trend sees these practices as mirrors of the popular perception and interpretation of the Church's teachings. Since the richest sources of information are from the seventeenth century, this book provides a key to understanding the so-called "baroque mentality" of mid-colonial Mexican religiosity.

As true missionaries, the Franciscans were far more popular in their time than the Carmelites. Even so, the editors of *Los franciscanos en Chile* claim that the history of the order in that country remains largely unknown to the majority of the population, despite the wealth of its archival sources. This work gathers eighteen essays covering the colonial and republican periods, with special emphasis placed on narrating the Franciscans' missionary activity. Close attention is given to southern Chile, an often neglected area in church historiography. The contact with the indigenous in evangelizing areas is presented from the order's viewpoint, and, although valuable data is provided, the

format is traditional rather than innovative. It is worth noting that the Franciscans were still engaged in missionary work in the nineteenth century owing to the ineffective results of earlier attempts. Of special interest are editor René Millar's essay on popular religion and the model of sanctity, Karin Pereira's article on the education of the indigenous, and Juan G. Muñoz's essay on the benefactors who established the chantries of the convent of San Antonio in Malloa, a rural area in central Chile.

These two works blend traditional approaches, such as the history of foundations and the financial bases of the orders, with more modern trends, such as the representation of holiness as a proselytizing device and a projection of the regulars' desire to build an official memory of their own. They also suggest that in the future, the history of religious orders should broaden its parameters by understanding religion as part of a period's cultural paradigm, as well as analyzing the goals and beliefs of those who professed in them and those who interacted with them as objects of their endeavors.

Arizona State University (Emerita) ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

Christians, Blasphemers, and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century. By Joan Cameron Bristol. [Diálogos.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 283; 3 maps, 14 illustrations. $24.95. ISBN 978-0-826-33799-3.)

For all its horrors and brutalities, the Spanish Inquisition and its colonial branches produced a vast fund of documents about popular religion as well as community life, sexual practices, and other issues that occur in no other type of sources. Joan Bristol joins Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, Colin Palmer, Solange Alberro, and other scholars who have tapped this resource in her finely tuned study of religious life among Africans and their descendents in seventeenth-century Mexico. In this book, Bristol explores Spanish attitudes about race, religion, and gender as well as strictly religious phenomena.

Her first chapter seeks to elaborate Spanish ideas of superiority, and of African inferiority, illustrated by life of Juana Esperanza de San Alberto, unusual because, in spite of her African descent, she was allowed to become a Carmelite nun on her deathbed and was greatly honored for her piety. The extraordinary nature of her case reveals both the possibilities and the limitations that people of African heritage had in becoming full members of the Mexican religious hierarchy whatever their level of piety and discipline. Bristol's second chapter takes on the important question of the impact of African Christianity, typified by the many thousands of slaves in Mexico from Kongo and Angola, Catholic areas in Africa. Africans from these regions made up the majority of Afro-Mexicans, but Bristol also examines the African religious background of other areas. Later, in chapter 5, Bristol returns to African

roots to consider specifically healing practices revealed in her texts and complements the African portions of her analysis.

From this background, Bristol moves on to consider Afro-Mexican devotion, particularly through membership in lay confraternities, as well as the possession of religiously significant objects. Chapter 6 also deals with devotion, although on a more unofficial level and often that practiced by mixed race or thoroughly *ladino* (Creolized) people. In her fourth chapter, Bristol adds nuance to the question of renunciation of God, a crime that was part of the Inquisition's portfolio, and which, as Colin Palmer has already broached, was also a strategy for improving individual slaves' lives by forcing a change of masters.

Bristol's work is vital in that it is more attentive than earlier works have been to the African background of a population that was largely born in Africa, especially in focusing, using recent Africanist scholarship, on the appropriate areas of Africa. It is also important in that it pays full attention to the specific character of the seventeenth-century African cohort in Mexico that hailed from Christian Angola.

Although the primary focus of her book is on religion, Bristol's most important subtext is that religious devotion provided Afro-Mexicans opportunities to maneuver in the struggle for power or autonomy in an otherwise oppressive environment of slave life in colonial Mexico. At times, this struggle for power becomes her primary analytical tool and thus presents most ideas through the prism of the struggle for power, rather than as having roots in theological or devotional feelings. In a more minor consideration, Bristol draws examples from all over colonial Mexico without always taking into consideration regional diversity, urban versus rural settings, or the ratio of Spanish to indigenous people and thus to Africans, even though these considerations might be important in shaping both Spanish-African relations and the pattern of religious life.

Boston University JOHN K. THORNTON

Far East

Christians in China: A.D. 600 to 2000. By Jean-Pierre Charbonnier; translated by Maurice N. L. Couve de Murville. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2007. Pp. 605. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-898-70916-2.)

This is a translation of *Histoire des Chrétiens de Chine* (Paris, 2002), which was an updated reprint (Tournai, 1992; Paris, 1992). Charbonnier's encounter with, and interest in, Chinese Christians started in Singapore, where he worked as a priest (M.E.P.) from 1959 until 1993. Dissatisfied with the books *Chine et christianisme* authored by René Laurentin (Paris, 1977) and Jacques Gernet

(Paris, 1982), he wrote a history of China's Christians that is not one of "missed opportunities" and does not give the impression "that there were two cultures in watertight compartments that just could not communicate" (p. 10). Moreover, because he did not want to identify Christianity merely with the West, he endeavored "to describe the main lines of Christianity in China [. . . and] to tell the stories of actual Chinese Christians at every period" (p. 13).

Although the book is not a real history, the stories are arranged chronologically in thirty chapters covering five periods: "Relics from China's Past: Traces of Christianity from the 7th to the 14th Century" (chap. 1–6, pp. 19–120); "The Friendship of Wise Men: The Meeting of Catholicism and Confucianism in the 16th and 17th Centuries" (chap. 7–12, pp. 121–212); "Witnesses on the Run: The Gospel Is Preached to Poor Peasants in the 18th and 19th Centuries" (chap. 13–18, pp. 213–315); "The Colonial Period, Ambivalent Expansion: Advantages and Disadvantages of Foreign Protection, 1840–1949" (chap. 19–24, pp. 317–421); and "Death and Resurrection: Communism and the Attempt to Destroy Religion, 1949–2002" (chap. 25–30, pp. 423–539). Although the eastern (or Nestorian) Church (chap. 1-4) and Protestantism (esp. chap. 21) are not absent (nor even Islam, chap. 6), the book mainly deals with Roman Catholics in China, including Hong Kong (chap. 27); Taiwan (chap. 28); and the Chinese diaspora in Singapore, the Philippines, North America, and Europe (chap. 26, "Chinese Missionaries"). Charbonnier's well-written book is a passionate testimony for the existence of a Chinese Christianity. It seems well documented for the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries; for the earlier periods, there are occasional flaws, such as calling the anti-Christian Yang Guangxian (1597–1669) a eunuch and Muslim convert (pp. 183, 231), which are both erroneous statements. For these earlier periods, the translator, Maurice Couve de Murville (1929–2007), the late archbishop of Birmingham, added new material, with the approval of the author, in chapters 1–4, 10, 14, 15, 19, and 23) "for the better understanding of the narrative and of the cultures treated" (p. 15). These additions are indicated at the end of the affected chapters. In short, Charbonnier's book is an enthusiastic, alternative introduction to (Catholic) Christianity in China. At the end of the book there are useful bibliographies of publications in English (pp. 572–80), French (pp. 580–87), other Western languages (pp. 587–88), and Chinese (pp. 589–94).

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven AD DUDINK

Catholics in Indonesia 1808–1942. A Documented History. Vol. 1: *A Modest Recovery, 1808–1903*. By Karel Steenbrink. [Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Iinstituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 196.] Leiden: KITLV Press. Distr. University of Washington Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 528. $47.50. ISBN 978-9-067-18141-9.)

This is the first of two volumes on Catholics in Indonesia. It is noteworthy that Steenbrink titles it *Catholics in Indonesia*, rather than the *Catholic*

Church in Indonesia. Although there is much about the institution, the focus is on the efforts of individual missionary priests in the nineteenth century to minister to Europeans and Eurasians in the major cities and to convert the natives in both Java and the eastern islands of the colony.

The book is in two parts: first, a well-written and insightful analysis and second, a selection of well-chosen documents that help the reader better understand the minds of the missionaries, their noble ideals, and their not so noble personal (and sometimes very public) failings; their frequent despair at the crassness of Dutch colonial society; and, most of all, their determination to plant their faith in the colony. Histories of missions and churches can be unexciting, but Steenbrink writes with a light touch and a keen eye for the very human characteristics of the missionary priests.

Catholics in Indonesia is located in the broader conversion narrative and the wider literature on missionary endeavor. Right at the beginning Steenbrink poses the central question for an historian of comparative religion: "Is the process towards a general acceptance of world religions the common thread and the choice of a specific religion only a matter of individual and regional preference or even chance?" This is no "Church triumphant" history; rather, it is a sophisticated attempt to understand the spread of one of the major world religions within the context of European colonialism and the conversion histories of other world religions.

Understandably the emphasis is on the European priests, but as the story of missionary endeavor unfolds, the reader is provided with fascinating portraits of Indonesians, both those who converted and those who resisted conversion. The interaction between local rulers in eastern Indonesia and the nineteenth-century Catholic priests is fascinating reading, providing much insight into what local rulers believed they were doing when they either converted or rejected conversion. As in so much missionary endeavor, most of the spectacular success stories revolve around missionaries with large charismatic personalities. For most missionary priests, however, the nineteenth century was pretty much fallow ground: try as they might, they found it difficult to build up congregations of any size, and many expressed their frustrations that they were unable to extinguish "heathen" beliefs even among converts.

The conversions in the nineteenth century were not as thorough as desired by most of the priests and their superiors. Steenbrink's analysis of the conversion process is nuanced, empathetically discussing the frustrations of priests who felt they were failures and subtle in his understanding of the continuities of belief systems. Despite the efforts of many, the Catholic community was still very small at the end of the nineteenth century, yet much was achieved. The Bible was translated into many languages, small communities of believers were scattered throughout the archipelago, and the basis was laid for the enormous expansion in the last forty years of colonial rule.

Through both Steenbrink's history and the complementary documents, the reader sees a colonial government more concerned with maintaining "rust en orde" than in promoting the Christian faith. Of course, the Protestant-Catholic divide had to be managed. Christian missionary work was only possible in the colony because of the support of the colonial government. Yet the alliance between church and state was often an uneasy one. For the Catholic Church and its missionary priests, their work was complicated by a colonial government determined to restrict Catholic proselytizing to avoid conflict with Islamic adherents and largely Protestant local officials. The clashes between priests and secular officials at both the local and central levels illuminate the differences in goals, priorities, motives, and ambitions.

With the inauguration of the Ethical Policy at the beginning of the twentieth century came a new emphasis on Western education for native peoples. The Catholic Church became a major player in the expansion of Western education. It paid huge dividends for the Church, with considerable growth in the last forty years of colonial rule, complemented by a steady movement toward the indigenization of the Church. The story of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century awaits the publication of the second volume in Steenbrink's history, which will be welcomed by both the historian of religion as well as the historian of Indonesia.

University of Western Sydney, Australia JOHN INGLESON

Beach Crossings: Voyaging across Times, Cultures, and Self. By Greg Dening. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. x, 376. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-812-23849-5.)

This is a handsomely made book. It is a delight to hold and to behold. Sadly, however, on consideration of the text it evokes echoes of Hans Christian Andersen's fable of *The Emperor's New Clothes*. It has style, but substance is more notional, and subjectivity and relativity outweigh content and objectivity. The late Greg Dening (1931–2008) produced a number of distinctively reinterpretive works relating to the Pacific, most notably one on Captain William Bligh and the *Bounty* (Cambridge, UK, 1992), but nothing as indulgently self-referential as *Beach Crossings*.

The primary geographical focus of Dening's scholarly expertise is the Marquesas Islands, in association with other Polynesian groups. So it is here, too, but the prevailing subject of discussion is a topographical feature invoked as a metaphor of protean application for the significant shifts of bearing that can occur amid the uncertainties and ambiguities of the human condition; that is, "the beach." This is the site at or through which a person putatively crosses from one world or from one state of being to another. The result of Dening's musings is an extended literary essay, rather than a work that fits within any other genre.

Dening's archetypal "beach crossers" are two European seamen and a missionary who came ashore in the Marquesas around 1800 and who adapted to life there until they returned to their own societies, profoundly influenced by their experiences. Later, he discusses Herman Melville, who had similar adventures, and the indigenous people of the islands. The Polynesians, the ethnocultural group to which the Marquesans belong, were so labeled in 1832 by the navigator-ethnographer Dumont d'Urville. For Dening, tracing their movements from an Asian homeland, they become the "Sea People of the West" who settled on widely scattered islands in the great ocean where they also become people of the land; or, in the case of the Marquesans, as Dening styles them, "Enata Fenua."Their voyaging is presented as a series of "crossings," and one of them, Tupaia from Tahiti, who visited England with Captain James Cook, is offered admiringly as an example of an indigenous "beach crosser." The Europeans are generally less favorably represented.

Indeed, despite the vast amount of existing critical research that qualifies traditional romantic stereotypes of the South Seas, Dening tends to present the islanders as noble savages, as occupants of an oceanic paradise. In addition, his avuncular storytelling style of literary escapism is jarring, especially in referring to New Zealand through the silly poetic neologism Aotearoa.

Dening, an ex-Jesuit, also writes extensively, but not in sharp detail, about his own life and his intellectual and emotional engagement with the subject of his research and writing, so that the book emerges primarily as a personal memoir. He has much to say about his own "beach crossings," but skimmingly, with little depth or substance. He presents his life as an integral part of a continually unfolding historical drama, in which the author is one of the actors.

All in all, then, this is a work that philosophically smacks more of Heraclitus and Berkeley than of Aristotle and Aquinas. It is a wondrously sustained exercise in literary creativity, but is deficient in scholarly *gravitas*.

University of Auckland HUGH LARACY

BRIEF NOTICES

Oleszkiewicz-Peralba, Ma*l*gorzata. *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe: Tradition and Transformation.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 226. $34.95 clothbound. ISBN 978-0-826-34102-0.)

The icon of the black madonna may be a significant metaphor for our time. In an era of rapid transition, the ancient African "dark mother" is manifested in dark-woman divinities of the earth, notably the black madonna. To those confronting potential environmental disaster, the dissolution of institutions, and war, the black madonna offers hope, as the values of compassionate justice, equality, and nonviolent transformation are associated with her image.

The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe: Tradition and Transformation is an impressive study by Ma*l*gorzata Oleszkiewicz-Peralba. The author grew up in Poland, home of the wondrous black madonna of Czestochowa. Her childhood gave her a firsthand knowledge of the many black madonnas in eastern and central Europe. In recent years, Oleszkiewicz-Peralba has taught in the southwestern United States, where the black madonna Guadalupe is venerated as the *madrina* of Latin America, particularly in Aztlán**.**

The author brings the enthusiasm for her subject from her childhood, coupled with a serious scholar's methodologies, to this study of popular religion and transformation. She describes the ways in which the black madonna's image weaves together popular Catholicism, Amerindian traditions, African orisa worship, and eastern and central European and Iberian cultures, as well as the emergence of the "great mother" figure in Latin America. She also discusses how, like Joan of Arc, the black madonna has served as a nationalist symbol, a figure of resistance against tyranny, and a representation of empowerment for women.

More than 150 illustrations enhance the book, emphasizing the black madonna's ubiquity from the artworks of high culture to the corn dollies of the Slavic tradition. This pathbreaking study ranges from the caduceus and voodoo altars crowned by serpents and Yoruba rituals to Tanit of Carthage, the black-woman divinity; to the tree of life; and to the black madonna portrayed in trees. Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum (*California Institute of Integral Studies*)

Colombo, Emanuele. *Convertire i musulmani: L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo del Seicento*. (Milan: Bruno Mondadori. 2007. Pp. xi, 175. €14,00. ISBN 978-8-861-59072-4.)

Tirso González de Santalla, the thirteenth superior general of the Society of Jesus, is best known for his repudiation of the Jesuits' traditional probabilism. Elected on the third ballot with a majority of only one vote, he prevailed over the other candidates only because Pope Innocent XI, unsympathetic to probabilism, indicated that he wanted him as general. Otherwise González, who had never held a position of authority in the Society until that time, would not have been considered. Although he had taught theology at Salamanca, his previous career had been principally preaching at popular missions in Spanish cities and towns, where he achieved exceptional success. One aspect of that career is the fascinating subject of Colombo's book—González's attempts at converting Muslim slaves resident in Spain.

In seventeenth-century Spain, especially in Madrid and Andalusia, there was a small Muslim minority, most of which was of foreign origin—captured in the corsair wars, for instance, or from raids in North Africa. González made this population almost his specialty and just before his election as general published *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum,* his instruction for preachers who wanted to do the same. The book was reprinted several times and as late as 1937 commended to Jesuits by Wlodimir Ledóchowski, the superior general. Although it uses traditional polemics and apologetics, it differs from other treatments of the subject in that Gonzalez grounds the book in his own experience.

Besides dealing with a subject relevant for Christian-Muslim dialogue today, this impressive book is emblematic of two related trends. The first is the increasing crescendo of historical interest in the Jesuits, especially during the past decade. The second is the lead now taken by a generation of young, well-trained Italian scholars such as Colombo in that phenomenon. JOHN W. O'MALLEY, S.J. (*Georgetown University*)

McKendrick, Scot. *In a Monastery Library: Preserving Codex Sinaiticus and the Greek Written Heritage.* (London: British Library. Distr. the University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. 48. $13.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-712-34940-6.)

This beautiful work describes the Codex Sinaiticus in considerable detail and demonstrates not only its unique value in the history of the Bible but also its significance as a landmark in the history of the book. It contains twenty-three plates and photographs of the Codex Sinaiticus and other manuscripts as well as of St. Catherine's Monastery and of events associated with the preservation of the Codex.

It illustrates the Codex's appearance and distinctive features and indicates where its leaves are presently held (British Library, University Library in

Leipzig, National Library of Russia, and St. Catherine's Monastery). It compares its significance to the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Alexandrinus, and earlier fragmentary parchment codices and papyri, as well as to Byzantine manuscripts. It describes how it was produced technologically, the different hands of a fourth-century team of scribes observable in it, the wave of corrections introduced in the following three centuries, and its eventual discovery by Constantine Tischendorf in 1844 and its subsequent travels to St. Petersburg and London.

It concludes by announcing the international project that plans to make the whole surviving Codex accessible to a global audience for the first time and to produce a new facsimile of the Codex and a digital Web-based copy that reunites in virtual form all four surviving parts of the Codex. The first images were posted online on July 24, 2008, at http://www.codex-sinaiticus.net.

The work concludes with a description by Nicholas Pickwoad of the conservation project established to preserve the Greek written heritage of all the manuscripts in the library of St. Catherine's Monastery. FRANCIS T. GIGNAC, S.J. (*The Catholic University of America*)

Newman, John Henry. *Sermons Preached on Various Occasions*. Edited by James Tolhurst. [The Works of Cardinal John Henry Newman: Birmingham Oratory, Millennium Edition, Vol. IX.] Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2007. Pp xlii, vi, 399. $40.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03662-1.)

This volume is the latest addition to the Birmingham Oratory Millennium edition of the works of Cardinal John Henry Newman. Not intended to provide critical editions, the series contains attractively produced reprints with introductions and notes.

There is an unfortunate error at the beginning of the introduction (p. xii), where *The Idea of a University* is identified as the "series of lectures on the subject of education" that Newman was asked to give by Archbishop Paul Cullen to inaugurate the new Catholic University of Ireland. In fact, these *Discourses on University Education*, originally published as a book, constitute only the first half of *The Idea of a University*; the second half is *Lectures and Essays on University Subjects*, also originally published as a book (p. 132). The somewhat technical discussion of habitual and actual grace (p. xxiv) seems a bit out of place in an edition intended for general readers. To say that "the Catholic liturgy does not have the solemnity of Cranmer's majestic prose" (p. xlii) is considerably understating the contrast if the reference were to the current banal English translation, but since editor James Tolhurst must be referring to the Tridentine liturgy of Newman's day, the assertion seems highly questionable. In an introduction of only thirty-odd pages, there is one missing footnote (p. xxi) and two sentences that do not make sense (pp. xxi, xxvii). IAN KER (*University of Oxford*)

Bodo, Murray. *Mystics*. (Cincinnati, OH: St. Anthony Messenger Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 224. $16.95. ISBN 978-0-867-16746-7.)

As the distinguished Hispanist Bernard Gicovate once noted, mystic experience, the communion of the mind with any divinity in which it believes, has been and continues to be part of the varied possibilities of man's imagination. Through the ages Christianity has articulated in poetry and prose the human intimacy with God, from the writings of Genesis and Exodus to medieval and Renaissance canticles, epistolary notes, and essays to late-twentieth-century contemplative diaries on man's relationship to his creator. Focusing on this broad journey of the mystical experience, Murray Bodo, O.F.M., provides lucidly penetrating insights into the life and works of some of the most fervent exponents of this mysterious transcendental love.

Following a brief introduction describing the multifaceted manners in which the mystics show us the ways of God, Bodo provides ten chapters filled with profound thoughtfulness into the nature, significance, importance, and relevance of the extraordinary men and women who have experienced the ultimate intimacy with the creator. In an engaging, fluid, and inspiring prose, Bodo leads us through this *itinerarium* of faith and experience from a reflection on the life of Mary, the mother of Jesus and the spiritual model of mystics, to a graphic portrayal of that consummate exponent of the pious and sacred life, St. Francis of Assisi, who embraced the poor, crucified Christ as the model of his own existence. Bodo goes on to examine the captivating narrative of another medieval figure, Julian of Norwich, whose sixteen graphically described mystical visions transformed her life and served as an inspiration to countless faithful through the centuries. Bodo provides some pointed observations on the Franciscan Jacopone da Todi, often referred to as the "Poet of the Madness of Love," and the intrepid St. Catherine of Siena who took the mystical experience to a new level of discourse, to the world of the body, "the world of birthing and nourishing, the world of the beloved and the lover, of the betrothal and mystical marriage."

It is precisely the idea of the mystical marriage that inspired St. John of the Cross to create some of the most sophisticated verses dealing with mystical experience, and the author cogently analyzes those verses and reviews the exquisite prose of another mystic who saw Christ as the bridegroom, St. Thérèse of Lisieux. The last few chapters of Bodo's book deal with other significant exponents of the mystical life, such as Gerald Manley Hopkins, Simone Weil, and Robert Lax, concluding with an afterword of personal reflections and critical opinions on the traditions, meanings, and teachings of the sublime experience that is mysticism. BRUNO M. DAMIANI (*The Catholic University of America*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Journal News

The European Science Foundation has assigned *The Catholic Historical Review* an "A" ranking in its initial listing of the scholarly journals in the area of religion, which puts the review in the top 10 to 25 percent of religious studies and theology journals. The "A" designation is given to "high-ranking international publications with a very strong reputation among researchers of the field in different countries, regularly cited all over the world," according to the foundation. In its initial listing of journals in the area of history, the foundation has assigned it a "B" ranking. Journals in the "B" category are defined as "standard international publications with a good reputation among researchers of the field in different countries." Few journals dedicated to religious history were given an "A" ranking. These rankings were assigned to the journal because of its international stature based on its cohort of contributors and readership, consistently high-quality scholarly content, and the broad consensus of scholars who affirm the journal's international status and visibility.

Panels of European scholars operating under the foundation's European Reference Index for the Humanities categorized and ranked hundreds of scholarly journals addressing fifteen different disciplines of the humanities. The project "aims initially to identify and gain more visibility for top-quality European humanities research published in academic journals," states the foundation. "[It] will help to identify excellence in humanities scholarship and should prove useful for the aggregate benchmarking of national research systems, for example, in determining the international standing of the research activity carried out in a given field in a particular country."

"The distinction between the categories A, B and C is not primarily qualitative," says the foundation. "Rather, the categorization also factors in issues such as [each journal's] scope and audience." Editors of listed journals can address their journal's ranking with the ESF before the foundation publishes an update of the journal listings in late 2008.

The Catholic Historical Review is one of the journals available electroni-

in April, the redesign, reorganization, and reengineering of the Project MUSE Web site will allow a pdf of a full-text article to be displayed. Another feature will eventually allow one to search for other studies by the same author, utilizing the databases of MUSE and CrossRef.

Vatican Library

Monsignor Cesare Pasini, prefect of the Apostolic Vatican Library, has announced a renovated library Web site (http://www.vaticanlibrary.va). The Web site presents the library's services, history, and activities (initiatives, choices, decisions, and events). The library's ongoing renovation involves the manuscript stacks, the Numismatic Department, the restoration and photographic laboratories, and the stacks for periodicals. As a result of the library's temporary closure, the prefect has reported a great increase in the number of orders for reproductions. In conjunction with the library's scheduled reopening in 2010, there will be a conference on the library as a research site and its various services for researchers. A seven-volume history of the library also will be published. The first volume, dealing with the years from Nicholas V to Clement VII, is scheduled for publication in 2010.

New Scholarly Society

EPISCOPUS, the Society for the Study of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Middle Ages, has a new Web site (http://www.episcopus.org) that contains a directory of its members, a list of their publications, announcements of conferences, and a selection of texts in translation. The society collects no dues and exists primarily as a network for scholars who work on any aspect of medieval bishops. It also sponsors panels at conferences in Leeds and Kalamazoo and at meetings of the Medieval Academy of America.

Exhibitions

On July 24, 2008, the exhibition "Il Concilio in mostra: Il racconto del Vaticano II nei filmati delle Teche RAI (1959–1965)" opened in the Palazzo Incontro, Via dei Prefetti 22, Rome under the sponsorship of the Presidente della Repubblica and La Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII. For more information, contact eventi@fscire.it.

From October 21, 2008, through January 6, 2009, the photographic exhibition "Pius XII: The Man and the Pontificate" will be presented in the Charlemagne Wing of St. Peter's Square. It will trace his life from his boyhood to his death, using photographs, documents, gifts, and personal objects. The exhibition will also feature his contribution to the founding of the modern art collection of the Vatican Museums.

Causes of Saints

On June 13, 2008, the Holy See agreed to advance the beatification process for 250 Spaniards who died in Valencia and other areas during the religious persecutions of 1934–39. They include 183 priests, six male religious, four female religious, and fifty-seven laypersons. The latter include a fifteen-year old

altar boy who tried to defend sacred images and a pregnant woman who asked to allow her child to be born before her execution so that she could baptize it, a request that was denied.

On June 23, 2008, in Beirut's main square in the presence of the president, prime minister, and speaker of the parliament, the Lebanese Capuchin Yaaqoub (Jacob) Haddad (1875–1954) was beatified. Haddad was famous for his humility; his role as the builder of hospitals, schools, and other social institutions; and his service as the founder of the Sisters of the Cross.

On July 3, 2008, Pope Benedict XVI authorized the beatification of five individuals. Father Damien de Veuster (1840–89) was a Belgian priest of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary who ministered to the leper colony on the Hawaiian island of Molokai. Don Bernardo Tolomei (1272–1348) was the Italian founder of the Olivetan Congregation of the Benedictine order. Nuno de Santa Maria Alvares Pereira (1360–1431) was a Portuguese professed layman of the Order of Friars of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel. The French layman Louis Martin (1823–94) and his wife, Marie Zelie Guerin Martin (1831–77), were the parents of St. Thérèse of Lisieux (1873–97). The latter's beatification ceremony will be held in Lisieux on October 19, 2008.

On August 19, 2008, the Vatican announced four other beatification ceremonies. Sister Vincenza Maria Poloni, founder of the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy in Italy, was scheduled for beatification in Verona on September 21, 2008. Father Michael Sopocko, founder of the Sisters of the Merciful Jesus and spiritual director of St. Faustina Kowalska, was beatified on September 28, 2008, in Bialystok, Poland. Father Francesco Pianzola, founder of the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Queen of Peace, was beatified on October 4, 2008, in Vigevano, Italy. Father Francesco Giovanni Bonifacio, martyred by Yugoslav Communists, was beatified in Trieste on October 4, 2008.

Lectures and Conferences

On June 16, 2008, a conference was held at the Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII in Bologna, Italy, on the theme "La figura e l'opera storiografica di Giuseppe Alberigo." Among the papers given were "Il profile biografico" by Alberto Melloni, "I rapporti con Dassetti e Jedin" by Giuseppe Ruggieri, "Il maestro Cantimori" by Giovanni Miccoli, "Attorno a Trento" by Adriano Prosperi, "Le istituzioni nella chiesa" by Klaus Ganzer, "L'interpretazione di Roncalli" by Enrico Galavotti, "La storia del Vaticano II" by Mathijs Lamberigts, and "La bibliografia" by Massimo Faggioli.

On September 20, 2008, at the annual meeting of the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum at the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, Johannes Merz of the same university gave a talk on the theme "Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn als Typus der Gegenreformation."

On September 18–20, 2008, a conference was held in Philadelphia on the theme "Antipopery: The Transatlantic Experience, c. 1530–1850." Following a keynote address on "Prejudice, Principle, or Polemic: Interpreting Early Modern Antipopery" by Anthony Milton, the papers were organized under the following eight themes:

1. *Foundations*. "Freeborn (Puritan) Englishmen and Slavish Subjection: Popish Tyranny and Puritan Constitutionalism, c. 1570–1606" by Michael P. Winship; "Anti-Catholicism in the Lower Case: Challenging Peace and Unity in Reformation England" by Karl Gunther; and "Antichrist in Ireland" by Alan Ford.
2. *Imperial Dimensions*. "Popish Jews and Muslims in the Early British Empire" by William J. Bulman; "Protestant Colonies, Crypto-Catholics, and the Pope's Spanish Weapon: Early New England and the Chesapeake Colonies Reconsidered" by Cynthia Van Zandt; and "'Naked Indians' and 'Popish Plots': Anti-Catholicism and the Conquest of the Southern Backcountry, 1673–1697" by James D. Rice.
3. *Continental Influences*. "Antipopery and the Waldensian Crisis: The Contradictory Terrain of International Stances in the 1650s" by Philippe Rosenberg; "Antagonism and Coexistence: Protestants and Catholics in German and North American Communities, 1555–1820" by Mark Häberlein; and "The Idolatrous and Tyrannical Church of Rome: Huguenot Sermons and Antipopery in Colonial New York and Massachusetts" by Pauline Wheeler Carlo.
4. *Ambiguities*. "Opposition to Antipopery in Early Modern England" by Scott Sowerby; "The Popish Iceberg" by Victor L. Stater; and "'Jesuitico-Quakerism': Counter-Reformation and Scottish Antipapist Polemic in Early Enlightenment European Context" by Paul Jenkins.
5. *Loyal Subjects?* "'Disaffected to Our Present Happy Establishment': Empire and Antipopery on the Anglo-Atlantic Borderland, 1740–1800" by Allan Dwyer; "His Britannick Majesty's New Subjects: Antipopery and Subjecthood in Grenada and Quebec" by Hanna K. R. Weiss; and "Antipopery and the Gordon Riots in the Revolutionary Atlantic World," by Brad Jones.
6. *Nationalism*. "For God, Queen, and Open Bible: Antipopery and National Identity in Early Industrial Lancashire" by Brian Lewis; "Antipopery, Print, and Public Controversy in the New American Republic" by Martin J. Burke; and "Arts of Seduction: Gender, Authority, and Antipopery in the New Nation" by Monica Najar.
7. *Representation*. "The Secularization of Antipopery: The Evolving Myth of 'Bloody Mary'" by Thomas S. Freeman; "Anti-Catholicism and Art in Britain" by Clare Haynes; and "The Virgin Mary and Violated Mothers in British Anti-Catholicism" by Laura M. Stevens.
8. *Reactions*. This panel discussion involved Brendan McConville, Tim Harris, Willem Frijhoff, and John M. Murrin.

On November 6–8, 2008, at the Pontifical Gregorian and Lateran Universities in Rome, a conference will be held to mark the fiftieth anniversary

of the death of Pope Pius XII. The conference will focus on the pope's Magisterium: his promotion of doctrine (e.g., biblical studies, evangelization, religious freedom, Church-State relations, ecclesiology, liturgy, Mariology [dogma of the Assumption], censorship of error (*Humani generis* and the condemnation of theological relativism), and his social and moral teachings (medical questions, social communications media, relations between the Church and world, and canon law). The conference will show the pope's influence on the Second Vatican Council.

On November 6–8, 2008, in Cincinnati, Ohio, the Seventh Annual National Conference on the Underground Railroad will sponsor the program "Lincoln's Era: The Role of Religion in the Underground Railroad." For further details, see http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=H-AmRel&month=0806&week=a&msg=puJ2qV04ZnzxihLj6LGUfA&user= &pw=.

On March 26–28, 2009, the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt will present the interdisciplinary conference "The Culture of Catholicism in the United States," which will investigate the historical and contemporary dimensions of U.S. Catholicism. It will address four themes: (1) The Role of Catholicism in American History, (2) The Position of the Church in a Multiethnic and Multicultural Society, (3) Profiles and Concepts of Catholic Schools and Universities, and (4) Catholicism in Art, Literature, and the Media. Paper proposals should include the title of the paper, the author's name and institutional address, a 200-word abstract, and a short curriculum *vitae*. Please send this information by October 15, 2008, to Prof. Dr. Hermann Josef Schnackertz (hermann.schnackertz@eichstaett.de).

On May 7–9, 2009, the XXXVIII Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana at the Augustinianum in Rome will be devoted to the theme "Διακονια, *diaconiae*, diaconato: semantica e storia." The conference will discuss the significance of the diaconate in relation to the Church, tracing its origins and development, its place in the sequence of ordination and the first deaconesses, its role within and outside the liturgy, and its function as "ears and eyes" of the bishops. The three areas of research are (1) philological (literary texts, epigraphical materials interpreted semantically and linguistically), (2) archaeological (monuments studied iconographically and iconologically), and (3) religious (the ritual roles and liturgical functions of deacons and deaconesses). Those who wish to deliver a twenty-minute paper should send its title and an abstract of a maximum of ten lines by November 30, 2008, to Segreteria Incontri *Augustinianum*, Via Paolo VI, 25 – 00193 Roma, Italia; fax 39-066-800-6298; email incontri@patristicum.org. The proposals will be evaluated in early January 2009.

On April 3–4, 2009, the Thirty-sixth Annual Sewanee Medieval Colloquium will be held at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, on the theme "The City in Medieval Life and Culture." Those who wish to present a twenty-minute paper on any aspect of the conference theme should submit an

abstract of approximately 250 words and a brief curriculum *vitae* by October 1, 2008, to sridyard@sewanee.edu. For more information, visit http://www.sewanee.edu/Medieval/main.html.

On May 28–30, 2009, the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference will be held at the Crowne Plaza Hotel in Geneva, Switzerland, to mark the 500th anniversary of John Calvin's birth. Proposals for papers should include the presenter's name and contact information, paper title, and a 200-word abstract and be submitted by November 7, 2008, at http://www.sixteenthcentury.org/conf_proposals.shtml. For more information, contact Jeffrey R. Watt at hswatt@olemiss.edu. Prior to the conference, the Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation and other institutions in Geneva will sponsor an international conference on "John Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009." For more information, visit http://www.unige.ch/ihr/calvin2009-e.html.

Publications

On October 14–15, 2006, the Metropolitan Museum of Art conducted the symposium "Facing the Middle Ages" in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the International Center of Medieval Art. The following papers from the symposium have been published in vol. 46, no. 2 (2007) of *Gesta,* the center's journal: Charles T. Little and Clark Maines, "Introduction: Contemporary Encounters with the `Medieval Face'" (pp. 83–99); Richard Brilliant, "Faces Demanding Attention" (pp. 91–99); Thomas Dale, "Romanesque Sculpted Portraits: Convention, Vision, and Real Presence" (pp. 101–19); Julian Gardner, "Stone Saints: Commemoration and Likeness in Thirteenth-Century Italy, France, and Spain" (pp. 121–34); Stephen Perkinson, "Rethinking the Origins of Portraiture" (pp. 135–57); Annemarie Weyl Carr, "The Face Relics of John the Baptist in Byzantium and the West" (pp. 159–77); Xavier Dectot, "A en perdre la tête: Les statues-colonnes de Saint Denis et le problème du vandalisme pré-révolutionnaire au XVIII^{e} siècle" (pp. 179–91); and Jonathan Alexander, "Facing the Middle Ages: Concluding Remarks" (pp. 193–97).

Volume 34, no. 2 (June, 2008) of the *Journal of Medieval History* is devoted to the theme "Conversing with the Minority: Relations among Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Women in the High Middle Ages"; its guest editor, Monica H. Green, wrote the introductory essay with the same title (pp. 105–18). The other articles are "The Bonds that Bind: Money Lending between Anglo-Jewish and Christian Women in the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, 1218–1280" by Victoria Hoyle (pp. 118–29); "A Thirteenth-Century Anglo-Jewish Woman Crossing Boundaries: Visible and Invisible" by Charlotte Newman Goldy (pp. 130–45); "The Care of Women's Health and Beauty: An Experience Shared by Medieval Jewish and Christian Women" by Carmen Caballero-Navas (pp. 146–63); "Conscripting the Breast: Lactation, Slavery and Salvation in the Realms of Aragon and the Kingdom of Majorca, c. 1250–1300" by Rebecca Lynn Winer (pp. 164–84); "The Trial of Floreta d'Ays (1403): Jews,

Christians, and Obstetrics in Later Medieval Marseille" by Monica H. Green and Daniel Lord Smail (pp. 185–211); and "'A separate people'? Some Directions for Comparative Research on Medieval Women" by Elisheva Baumgarten (pp. 212–28).

"Catholics in the Colony of Maryland and the Early Republic" is the theme of the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for spring 2008 (vol. 26, no. 2), which contains the following articles: Joseph S. Rossi, S.J., "Jesuits, Slaves and Scholars at 'Old Bohemia,' 1704–1756, as Found in the *Woodstock Letters*" (pp. 1–15); Tricia T. Pyne, "Ritual and Practice in the Maryland Catholic Community, 1634–1776" (pp. 17–46); Ronald A. Binzley, "Ganganelli's Disaffected Children: The Ex-Jesuits and the Shaping of Early American Catholicism, 1773–1790" (pp. 47–77); Michael S. Carter, "'What shall we say to this *liberal* age?': Catholic-Protestant Controversy in the Early National Capital" (pp. 79–95); Robert Emmett Curran, "Ambrose Maréchal, the Jesuits, and the Demise of Ecclesial Republicanism in Maryland, 1818–1838" (pp. 97–110); and Joseph Mannard, "Widows in Convents of the Early Republic: The Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1790–1860" (pp. 111–32).

Nine articles in the July 2008 issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly* (3rd ser., vol. LXV, no. 3) constitute a "Forum: Salem Repossessed." Following an introduction by Jane Kamensky, "Salem Obsessed: Or, *Plus Ça Change*" (pp. 391–400), the articles are: Margo Burns and Bernard Rosenthal, "Examination of the Records of the Salem Witch Trials" (pp. 401–22); Richard Latner, "Salem Witchcraft, Factionalism, and Social Change Reconsidered: Were Salem's Witch-Hunters Modernization's Failures?" (pp. 423–48); Benjamin C. Ray, "The Geography of Witchcraft Accusations in 1692 Salem Village" (pp. 449–78); John Demos, "What Goes Around Comes Around" (pp. 479–82); Mary Beth Norton, "Essex County Witchcraft" (pp. 483–88); Carol F. Karlsen, "Salem Revisited" (pp. 489–94); Sarah Rivett, "Our Salem, Our Selves" (pp. 495–502); and Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, "*Salem Possessed* in Retrospect" (pp. 503–34).

Four papers presented at the 2007 annual meeting of the English Section of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, which was held at the University of Saskatchewan, have been published in volume 74 (2008) of *Historical Studies*: Patricia E. Roy, "'The Pirates of the Penitentiary': Religion and Politics in Late 19th Century British Columbia" (pp. 6–27); Peter E. Baltutis, "'To Enlarge Our Hearts and to Widen Our Horizon': Archbishop Neil McNeil and the Origins of Social Catholicism in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, 1912–1934" (pp. 29–50); Robert H. Dennis, "Beginning to Restructure the Institutional Church: Canadian Social Catholics and the CCF [Cooperative Commonwealth Federation], 1931–1944" (pp. 51–71); and Adrian Ciani, "An Imperialist Irishman: Bishop Michael Fallon, the Diocese of London and the Great War" (pp. 73–94). The issue concludes with the usual "Current Bibliography of Canadian Religious History—Bibliographie récente d'histoire religieuse du Canada" (pp. B1–B34).

The second half of the volume consists of *Études d'histoire religieuse,* the review of the Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique. The following articles are included: Patrick Dionne, "Éclaircissements sur les prétendues mauvaises fréquentations littéraires de Lionel Groulx: le cas de Charles Maurras et de l'Action française de Paris" (pp. 7–27); Suzanne Boutin, "Le *Chemin des sanctuaires*: un phénomène entre tradition et modernité" (pp. 29–43); Arnaud Bessière, "Les domestiques des communautés religieuses au Canada au XVII^{e} siècle" (pp. 45–69); Dominique Laperle, "Une œuvre purement musicale? Analyse de la spiritualité des Sœurs des Saints Noms de Jésus et de Marie à partir de l'exemple de l'École de musique Vincent-d'Indy" (pp. 71–92); Denise Robillard, "L'Ordre de Jacques Cartier et les droits des Franco-catholiques en Ontario, 1926–1931" (pp. 93–111); and Gwénael Lamarque en collaboration avec le père Maurice Alfred Leger, "L'Église catholique, acteur de la francophonie en Amérique du Nord. L'exemple de la culture acadienne du Traité de Paris (1763) à nos jours" (pp. 113–26).

Ten articles in the issue of the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* for April, May, and June, 2008 (vol. 154, no. 2, pp. 157–286) deal with the theme "Protestantisme et cinéma français." André Encrevé has supplied an introduction and a conclusion.

Personals

The Reverend Joseph C. Linck, a priest of the diocese of Bridgeport, Connecticut, died on August 29, 2008, at Rosary Hill Nursing Home in Hawthorne, New York. An obituary will be forthcoming in *The Catholic Historical Review*.

Xiaoyu Peng of Peking University will hold a fellowship in spring 2009 at the Jesuit School of Theology, Berkeley, California, to work on Catholic Worker founder Dorothy Day.

Joseph Sladky, who since 2002 assisted in digitizing the church history source collections Ad Fontes and the Digital Library of the Catholic Reformation (845 titles by 277 authors) of the Alexander Street Press, will be helping to establish the Chelsea Academy in Front Royal, Virginia.

Christian D. Washburn has left his position at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary in Philadelphia to assume a post in the Theology Department of the St. Paul Seminary School of Divinity, St. Thomas University, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Obituary

Joan Bland, a Sister of Notre Dame de Namur, died on June 29, 2008, at St. Vincent's Care Center in Emmitsburg, Maryland, a day short of her ninety-first birthday. A memorial service to celebrate her life was held in Notre Dame

Chapel at Trinity (Washington) University on August 3, 2008. Because she had donated her body to science there was neither wake nor burial.

During an active professional life of more than sixty years, Sister Joan seemed always to be a decade ahead of her contemporaries, anticipating emerging trends in Church and society before others recognized them. These pioneering instincts were evident during her years as a faculty member at Trinity College (now Trinity University), as a national and international leader in the renewal of religious life of women's congregations, and as the founder and first director of Education for Parish Service (EPS).

Sister Joan earned her BA from Trinity in 1938, her MA in European history from Villanova University in 1945, and her PhD in U.S. history from The Catholic University of America in 1951. Joining Trinity's History Department in 1948, she became chair in 1951, broadened the curriculum to include courses in Asian history and Latin American studies, and increased faculty hiring to meet the needs of these new programs. Her students remember her as an intellectually engaging teacher who fostered a love for learning, introduced them to the discipline of scholarship, and encouraged them to study the strategic languages of the time, particularly Russian and Chinese. Although Sister Joan would never consider herself a feminist, she empowered Trinity history majors to seek professional careers in areas that still raised barriers against the full inclusion of women. Her majors joined the foreign service, graduated from medical school, and earned law degrees, as well as advanced degrees in area studies and history; at least fifteen of her students, who graduated between 1955 and 1963, earned PhDs, including two from Harvard in the early 1960s and one from Yale, also in the early 1960s, and one, Nancy Pelosi (who attended the memorial service), became the first female Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Sister Joan's scholarship focused on the history of Catholicism in the United States; her frequently cited dissertation, *Hibernian Crusade: The Story of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America* (Washington, DC, 1951), reflected her interest in the cultural context of religious history and led in the 1960s to her scholarly work on the history of ecumenism. She consistently explained that she approached ecumenism as an historian, not as a theologian; her research and writing thus explored the historical context for ecumenical dialogue in the United States. In the 1960s she served on the Sub-Committee on Education for Ecumenism of the Bishops' Ecumenical Commission and was one of the first two Roman Catholics invited to membership in the Working Group on Christian Education and Ecumenism of the National Council of Churches. Her participation in these groups provided a national forum for her lectures and publications, almost all of which advocated education as a preparation for ecumenical dialogue.

Through her advocacy on behalf of ecumenism, Sister Joan became acutely aware of the need for adult education within the Church and devoted herself

to this cause for the next four decades. In 1963, she obtained a leave of absence from Trinity to establish a cooperative center for the education of teaching sisters from nine congregations; in 1964 she became editor of the *Sister Formation Bulletin*, a newsletter read by the superiors of U.S. convents as well as by those responsible for the academic and spiritual education of young sisters.

Sister Joan's work in "Sister Formation" culminated in her participation in the renewal chapters of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur and her election to the General Council of the Congregation, on which she served from 1969 to 1975. From the congregation's headquarters in Rome she visited the Notre Dame communities in Europe, Africa, Japan, Brazil, and the United States. She also found time during these years in to establish an international program in Rome to educate sisters in Scripture and theology.

The obituaries and press releases reporting her death emphasized her national and international leadership as the founder and first director of EPS. In EPS, Sister Joan realized her vision of an educated Catholic laity; the EPS strove to foster lay leadership within the Church and in so doing to provide the laity with the theological and pastoral education essential to assuming this leadership. As the first director of EPS (1978–93), she created programs that became the model for the education of adult Catholics in theology, Scripture, and church history. By 2008, EPS had graduated more than 2700 adult lay Catholics prepared to serve in their parishes and in other ministries of the Church.

Sister Joan joined the American Catholic Historical Association in 1952 and remained a member until 2000. She served on the Executive Council from 1955 to 1957, the Program Committee in 1969, chaired the Program Committee in 1976, and was second vice president in 1978. Over the span of these forty-eight years she contributed at least sixteen reviews to *The Catholic Historical Review*.Those she wrote before 1980 focused on the social context for religious history; those after 1980 studied facets of the renewal of religious life in the United States. *The Catholic Historical Review* also published her study on the impact of government on English Catholic education. In addition to these publications, she also contributed nine articles to the first edition of *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, chapters to three edited works, and pieces to *Commonweal* and *The Way*. She also edited the three-volume *The Pastoral Vision of John Paul II* (Washington, DC, 1982).

Her legacy can best be summarized by one former student who wrote, "[W]e had a sense of having been changed in profound ways by her wisdom, her dedication, her zeal for learning and for teaching." Colleagues remember her "formidable intellectual acumen," a person who "maintained a delightful mix of knowledge, astuteness, and humor."

Trinity (Washington) University MARY HAYES, SND DE N

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

General and Miscellaneous

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